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THE LIFE OF ROBERT Lord CLIVE, BARON PLASSEY.

WHEREIN

Are Impartially delineated his Military Talents in the Field; his Maxims of Government in the Cabinet, during the two laſt Wars in the EAST INDIES,

Which made him ARBITER of EMPIRE, and the richeſt Subject in EUROPE.

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WITH

ANECDOTES of his PRIVATE LIFE,

AND THE

PARTICULAR CIRCUMSTANCES of his DEATH.

Alſo a NARRATIVE of all the laſt TRANSACTIONS in INDIA.

By CHARLES CARACCIOLI, Gent.

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THE

LIFE

OF

LORD CLIVE, BARON PLASSEY.

IT is not merely the life of a man, fortunate in war, ſkilful in politics, dexterous in negotiations, and aſpiring to the wealth, grandeur, and power of a ſovereign, we preſume to offer to the public. Our deſign is to inquire into the firſt cauſes of his elevation to a military command, which put him on a level with the princes of the eaſt. To conſider whether his ſucceſsful exploits, and his valuable acquiſitions, were productive of national diſgrace or honour; to point out the motives of his alliances and hoſtilities, as they were ſubſervient to his private ambition, and inconſiſtent with public faith and credit, and to obſerve with impartiality the uſe he made of his immenſe riches, his unbounded authority, and the prætorian

dignity he exercised in the Peninsula of Indus. We will not anticipate upon the judgment of posterity by invidious reflections, and illiberal conjectures; time, which ripens the reputation of men, will explode his true character according to the standard of his civil and military transactions, in the camp, in the cabinet, and in the senate.

To give the reader a distinct idea of a company of merchants, whose servants have lately exhibited in these realms the magnificence and pageantry of sovereigns to the disparagement of the ancient nobility, we shall give a sketch of the forts and settlements they acquired within the Ganges, under the sanction of royal charters, in virtue of which they claim, since the late peace, an immense tract of country, superior in wealth, fertility, extent and number of inhabitants to any in Europe.

Surat is the first we shall mention: from the province so called, situated between the 21st and 22d degrees of north latitude, the Peninsula within the Ganges, stretches into the Indian ocean as far as the latitude of eight north, ending in a point at Cape Comorin, which is the southern extremity to the northward. This Peninsula joins to Indostan, and at its greater breadth extends seven hundred miles. Upon the west, east, and south, it is washed by the sea; it comprehends the kingdoms of Malabar, Decan, Golconda and Bisnagar, with the principalities of Gengi, Tanjaour, and Madura. The western side is distinguished by the name of the Malabar-coast: the eastern takes the denomination of Coromandel; and in different parts of this long sweep, from Surat round Cape Comerin, to the bottom of the Bay of Bengal, the

English

Engliſh and ſeveral other European powers, have eſtabliſhed forts and trading ſettlements, with the conſent of the Mogul, who claims the ſovereignty of the whole empire.

Indeed all theſe kingdoms, properly ſpeaking, belong to him, but his power was ſo weakened by the laſt invaſion of Kouli Khan, that he has not been able to aſſert his empire over that remote country; the tributary princes of which, and even the nabobs, who were originally governors appointed by his authority, have rendered themſelves independent, and abſolute in their reſpective territories. Theſe princes, when they quarrel among themſelves, naturally have recourſe to ſuch European powers, as are ſettled in or near their dominions, and in the ſame manner the Eaſt Indian companies of Europe, which happen to be at war with each other, never fail to intereſt the nabobs in the diſpute.

The next Engliſh ſettlement to Surat, on the coaſt of the Peninſula, is Bombay, in the kingdom of Decan, a ſmall iſland, about five and forty leagues to the ſouth of Surat; its harbour can conveniently hold a thouſand ſhips at anchor, the iſland itſelf is about ſeven miles in length and twenty in circumference, but its ſituation and harbour are its chief recommendations, being deſtitute of almoſt all the conveniencies of life; the town is about a mile long, very populous, but poorly built, and the climate was fatal to the Engliſh conſtitutions, till experience, caution, and temperance, taught them preſervatives againſt its unwholeſomeneſs. The beſt water there is preſerved in tanks, which receives it in the rainy ſeaſons.

The

The fort is a regular quadrangle and well built of ſtone. Many black merchants reſide here: this iſland was part of the portion paid with the infante of Portugal, to Charles II. who gave it to the Eaſt India Company. The Engliſh have fallen upon methods to render this iſland and town, under all their diſadvantages, a ſafe, if not an agreeable reſidence. The reader need ſcarcely be informed, that the governor and council of Bombay have lucrative poſts, as well as the officers under them. The troops on the iſland are commanded by Engliſh officers, and the natives, when formed into regular companies, and diſciplined, are here, and all over the Eaſt Indies, called ſea-poys. The inhabitants of the iſland amount to near ſixty thouſand, of different nations, each of whom enjoys the practice of his religion unmoleſted.

The Engliſh company likewiſe carry on ſome traffic at Dabul, about forty leagues farther, in the province of Cuncan, in the ſame ſoutherly progreſſion: towards the point of the Peninſula is Carwar, *a ſmall fort and factory belonging to the* company on the ſouth ſide of a bay, with a river capable of receiving ſhips of pretty large burthen; the climate here is remarkably ſalubrious; the country abounds with proviſions of all ſorts, and the beſt pepper of India grows in this neighbourhood.

The next Engliſh ſettlement is Tellicheri, where the company has erected a fort, to defend their commerce of pepper and cardemons from the reſult of the Rajah, who governs this part of Malabar. Hither the Engliſh trade was removed from Calicut, a large town, where the Frenc[illegible] and Por-

Portugueſe have ſmall factories. The Engliſh keep at Tellicheri, a compleat garriſon of fifty ſoldiers.

The moſt ſoutherly ſettlement of the Engliſh, on the Malabar coaſt, is that of Anjengo; it is defended by a regular fort, ſituated on a broad river which falls into the ſea, and would be very commodious for trade, were not the waters on the bar too ſhallow to admit ſhips of a conſiderable burthen.

Then turning the Cape, and paſſing through the ſtrait of Ghilas, formed by the iſland of Ceylon, the coaſt of Coromandal forms the eaſtern ſide of the Iſthmus, the firſt Engliſh factory in a northern direction is the Fort St. David's, formerly called Tegapotan, within the principality of Gengi. It was about forty years ago ſold by a Maratta prince to the Eaſt India company; its territory extends above eight miles upon the coaſt, and is delightfully watered by a variety of rivers; the ſoil is fertile, and the climate healthy; the fort is ſtrong and regular, and of great importance to our trade; it is well provided with cannon, ammunition and a numerous garriſon, which is the more neceſſary on account of the vicinity of the French ſettlement at Pondichery, once their capital in the Eaſt Indies, but now demoliſhed by the Engliſh, who took it in the late war. It was reſtored by the peace of Fontainbleau. The trade of fort St. David's conſiſts in long cloths of different colours, allampores, morees, dimities, ginghams, and facca toons. But the chief ſettlement belonging to the company on this coaſt, is that of Madraſs, or fort St. George, ſtanding farther to the northward,

not

not a great way from the diamond mines of Golconda. This capital of the company's dominions in the Eaſt Indies, is ſeated on a flat, barren, ſcorching ſand, ſo near the ſea, that in bad weather, the walls are endangered by the mighty ſurges rolled in from the ocean; as the ſoil is barren, the climate is ſo intenſely hot, that it would be altogether uninhabitable, were not the heat mitigated by the ſea breezes. No pains have been ſpared by the company, in rendering this fort impregnable to any force that can be brought againſt it by the natives; it is a regular ſquare, and protects two towns, called from the complections of their ſeveral inhabitants, the White and the Black; they are both ſurrounded with walls, well mounted with artillery, and very populous; the White town is fortified, and contains an Engliſh corporation of a Mayor and Aldermen.

Madraſs, with ſeveral villages in the neighbourhood, was purchaſed of the king of Golconda, before the Mogul became ſovereign of this country. This diſtrict is of little value for its produce, and muſt import its own proviſions. Eighty thouſand inhabitants of various nations are ſaid to be dependent upon Madraſs, but its ſafety conſiſts in the ſuperiority of the Engliſh by ſea. It carries on a conſiderable trade with China, Perſia, and Mocha; the governor of this place is not only preſident of Fort St. George, but alſo of all the other ſettlements on the coaſt of Malabar and Coromandel, as far as the iſland of Sumatra, he has a council to aſſiſt him, and inferior judges, who paſs ſentence of death occaſionally on malefactors of any nation, except the ſubjects of Great Britain.

tain. He lives in great pomp, and when he goes abroad appears in vaſt ſplendor; all the Company's affairs are directed by him and his council, who are inveſted with the power of inflicting corporal puniſhment, ſhort of life, and member upon ſuch Europeans as are in the ſervice, and diſpoſe of all places of truſt and profit. The military officers belonging to the Company, by virtue of an act of parliament, paſſed in the 27th of George II. are permitted to hold a court-martial, and puniſh their ſoldiers according to the degree of their delinquency.

This bill for puniſhing mutiny and deſertion of officers and ſoldiers in the ſervice of the Eaſt-India company, and for the puniſhment of offences committed in the Eaſt Indies, and the iſland of St. Helena, was by many members of the legiſlature conſidered as a dangerous extenſion of military power, to the prejudice of the civil rights enjoyed by Britiſh ſubjects, and as ſuch violently conteſted by the late Earl of Egmont, Lord Strange and Mr. Alderman Beckford. All charters, commiſſions, and authorities. by which any powers relative to a military juriſdiction, or the exerciſe of martial law had been granted or derived from the crown to the ſaid company, were ſubmitted to the peruſal of the members. The bill, after ſome warm debates, being eſpouſed by the miniſtry, was enacted into a law.

In a word, Madraſs is of the utmoſt importance to the company, for its ſtrength, wealth and the great returns it makes in callicoes and muſlins, nothing has been omitted to mend the natural difficulties of its ſituation, which ſeems originally to be owing

owing to the neighbourhood of the diamond mines, which are but a week's journey diſtant. Thoſe mines are under the tuition of a Mogul officer, who lets them out by meaſurement, and incloſing the contents by palliſadoes. All diamonds above a certain weight belong to the Emperor.

The Engliſh poſſeſs a factory at Viſigapotam, ſituated ſtill farther to the northward, on the ſide of a river, which a dangerous bar has rendered unfit for navigation. It is chiefly for the uſe of this ſettlement, that the company maintains a factory at Ganjam, the moſt eaſtern town in the kingdom of Golconda, ſituated in a country abounding with rice and ſugar-cane. Still farther to the north-eaſt, the Company maintains a factory at Balaſore which was formerly very conſiderable, but has been of very little conſequence ſince the navigation of the river Huguely was improved. At this place every European ſhip, bound for Bengal and the Ganges, takes in a pilot: the climate is not counted very ſalubrious; but the adjacent country is fruitful to admiration, and here are conſiderable manufactures of cotton and ſilk. Without ſkilfull pilots, the Engliſh would find it very difficult to navigate the different channels through which the river Ganges diſcharges itſelf into the ſea at the bottom of the Bay of Bengal; Huguely 150 miles farther up the river was formerly the chief mart of the Company's commerce for the whole kingdom of Bengal; now their whole trade centers at Calcutta, or Fort William, which is a regular fortification, containing lodgings for the factors and writers, ſtore houſes for the company's merchandize and magazines for their ammunition. As for the

as the governor's houſe, which likewiſe ſtands within the fort, is one of the moſt regular ſtructures in all India. This government has been of late years moſt earneſtly ſolicited by the firſt company's ſervants, as the moſt lucrative of all their ſettlements: beſides theſe along the ſea coaſt, and on the banks of the Ganges, the Engliſh Eaſt India Company poſſeſs certain inland factories and poſts for the convenience and defence of their commerce, either purchaſed of the Nabobs and Rajahs, or conquered in the laſt war, the operations of which were conſigned to the coaſts of Malabar and Coromandel, or the interior countries, which form the Peninſula within the Ganges.

Bengal, of all the Indian provinces, has been the moſt expoſed to the depredations of mercileſs and rapacious commanders. It is eſteemed to be the ſtorehouſe of the Eaſt Indies; its fertility exceeds that of Egypt, after being overflowed by the Nile; and the produce of its ſoil conſiſts of rice, ſugar canes, corn, ſeſamum, ſmall mulberry and other trees. Its callicoes, ſilks, ſalt petre, lakka, opium, wax and arvet go all over the world; and proviſions there were formerly in vaſt plenty and incredibly cheap, eſpecially pullets, ducks and geeſe; the country is interſected by canals cut out of the Ganges, for the benefit of commerce; and extends near a hundred leagues on both ſides the river, being full of cities, towns, villages, and caſtles.

The Engliſh civil government which had been introduced into the town of Calcutta by a Mayor and Aldermen, far from giving general ſatisfaction, has been inſtrumental of numberleſs acts of

the moſt glaring injuſtice and oppreſſion, on account of the vaſt influence which the company had always over the magiſtrates; the many complaints from private perſons aggrieved by this mock tribunal have lately reached England, in conſequence of which the king has appointed a chief juſtice and three puiſne juſtices of the ſuperior court of judicature at Fort William.

The other factories of leſs note belonging to the company are thoſe of Dakka, the largeſt city of Bengal, Malda, and Ballaſore in the province of Orixa, from which the Engliſh company draw great part of their revenues, as it carries on a vaſt trade in chintzs, callicoes and embroidered ſtuffs.

They have alſo a flouriſhing factory at Amed-Abad, on the gulph of Cambaya, beſides thoſe of Bencoolen, in the iſland of Sumatra, and Cachao in Tonquin, where the company has a magnificent houſe, with ſtore-houſes, and handſome apartments for their officers and merchant factors.

The Engliſh carry on a ſmuggling kind of trade in their country ſhips, from the coaſt of Coromandel, and the Bay of Bengal, to Malacca. This commerce is connived at by the Dutch governor, and council among them, who little regard the orders of their ſuperiors, provided they can enrich themſelves.

It is from Cambodia, a country little known to the Europeans, except the Dutch, that the company is ſupplied, with the betel, a creeping plant of a particular flavour, and reputed an excellent remedy for all thoſe diſeaſes that are common to the inhabitants of the Eaſt Indies; tho' it is very un-

unpalatable to the Europeans, it is the higheſt luxury of this part of the Eaſt.

Though the provinces of the rich Peninſula, within the Ganges, have their reſpective princes, the Engliſh Eaſt India Company, ſince their acquiſitions in the laſt war, may be properly ſaid to rule over the kingdoms of Bengal, Bahar, Orixa and the Carnatic, they have monopolized the moſt valuable branches of that commerce courted by all trading nations of the world, from the earlieſt ages, and drawn from thence the materials of their luxury, one ſhould have ſcarcely imagined that ſuch wealth was deſtined to flow to ravenous upſtarts ſent at a venture beyond the eaſtern ocean, by obſcure and indigent relations, as young votaries to the blind goddeſs, who had before proſtituted her favours to raw and illiterate boys, who went on the ſame errand. This eaſy manner of providing for children, debarred, by the circumſtances of their parents, of the elements of a liberal education, with no other proſpect than to move in the humble ſphere of low tradeſmen and mechanics, engaged Mr. Clive, who had but a contemptible opinion of his ſon Robert's mental faculties, to riſe all the intereſt he had with the ſecretary of the India houſe, to have him admitted a ſupernumerary clerk to the company, at Calcutta.

Mr. Clive had been brought up to the profeſſion of an attorney in Shropſhire, his native county. There he practiſed for ſeveral years without improving his fortune or eſtabliſhing his credit and reputation; he came to the metropolis, where the ſame ill ſucceſs attended him; he derived but a mere exiſtence

exiſtence from the ambiguity of the law, and the litigious ſpirit of a few clients. He was ſhrewd, and plauſible.

If fortune lifted up afterwards his ſon to the ſummit of worldly grandeur, as merit had a very little ſhare to this amazing elevation, it does not follow that the father wanted judgment and penetration, from the mean idea he had conceived of his abilities.

It was early in the ſpring, in the year 1743, that young Clive ſailed for the Eaſt Indies, he was then in the eighteenth year of his age, a time when the genius and the imagination of moſt young men, portend the exertion of their talents in riper years.

He had neither perſonal accompliſhments, nor endearing qualities that could prepoſſeſs either ſex in his favour: he was ſhort, inclined to be corpulent, aukward, and unmanerly; his aſpect was gloomy, ſullen, and forbiding: his temper moroſe and intractable; his apprehenſion dull, and his mind unadorned by claſſical knowledge, tho' he ſeemed averſe to the drudgery and confinement of a country houſe; all the time he was employed in that ſervile capacity, his companions did not perceive that he had other views and military talents, till he ſhewed them in the field.

Ever ſince the peace of Aix la Chapelle, Monſieur Dupleix, governor of Pondicherry, had ſown, by his intrigues, the ſeeds of diſſenſion among the nabobs, that he might be the better able to command, after having effected their diviſion. Sundah Saheb, nabob of Arcot, having been depoſed by the great Mogul, who placed Anawerde Khan in his

his room, he resolved to recover his government by force, and had recourse to the French General, who reinforced him with two thousand sea-poys, or soldiers of the country, sixty Europeans, and four hundred and twenty [illegible] troops, on condition that if he proved [illegible] his enterprize, he should cede to the [illegible] the town of Velur, in the neighbourhood of Pondicherry, with its dependencies, consisting of forty-five villages. Thus reinforced, he defeated his rival Anawerde Khan, who lost his life in the engagement, reassumed the government of Arcot, and punctually performed the conditions, which had been stipulated by his French allies.

In the mean time Mahommed Ali Khan, son of the deceased nabob, fled to Tiruchirapalli, and solicited the assistance of the English; who favoured him with a reinforcement of money, men and ammunition, under the conduct of Major Laurence, an intrepid and experienced officer; by dint of this supply, he gained some advantages over the enemy, who were obliged to retreat, but no decisive blow was given. Mahommed afterwards repaired in person to Fort St. David, to demand more powerful succours, alledging that his fate was connected with the interest of the English company, which in time would be obliged to abandon the whole coast, should they allow the enemy to proceed in their conquests. In consequence of these representations, he received another strong reinforcement under the command of captain Cope, but nothing of importance was attempted, and the English auxiliaries retired. Then Mahommed was attacked by the enemy, who obtained

tained over him a compleat victory. Finding it impoſſible to maintain his footing by his own ſtrength, he entered into a cloſe alliance with the Engliſh, and ceded to them ſome commercial points, which had been [illegible] in diſpute; then they detached captain [illegible] out Terucherapali in a poſture of de[illegible]; while captain Gingen a Swiſs officer, marched at the head of four hundred Europeans to the Nabob's aſſiſtance, the two armies being pretty equal in ſtrength, lay encamped in ſight of each other a whole month; during which, nothing happened but a few ſkirmiſhes, which generally terminated to the advantage of the Engliſh auxiliaries.

In order to make a diverſion, and divide the French forces, the company reſolved to ſend a detachment into the province of Arcot, and this was the firſt occaſion upon which Mr. Clive diſplayed a military genius; he had ſerved the Eaſt India company ſeven years, as a writer, during which he was conſidered as a perſon unqualified for ſucceeding in any civil ſtation of life; he had offered his ſervices in a military capacity, and obtained a commiſſion of captain, as a reward of his zeal and aſſiduity. He now began his march to Arcot at the head of two hundred and ten Europeans.

The merit of this expedition conſiſted in his ſecrecy and diſpatch; and whatever encomiums the cotemporary writers, have beſtowed upon his courage and reputation in this enterprize, he had an undoubted intelligence that the enemy knew nothing of his motions until he was in poſſeſſion of the capital, which he took without oppoſition: indeed

deed his conduct, moderation and diſintereſtedneſs deſerve to be recorded, as it is the firſt and laſt inſtance he ever gave of mercy and generoſity to the vanquiſhed. The inhabitants of Arcot expecting to be plundered, offered him a large ſum to ſpare the city; but they found in the conqueror, who thought this act of clemency would eſtabliſh his reputation, and influence the company to intruſt him with the firſt command of their forces, to which he aſpired. He conſequently refuſed the proffered ranſom, and iſſued a proclamation, intimating, that thoſe who were willing to remain in their houſes, ſhould be protected from inſult and injury, and the reſt have leave to retire with all their effects, except proviſions, for which he promiſed to pay the full value, though he did not keep his word. By this oſtentatious contempt for riches, he conciliated the affections of the people, and even ſome of thoſe who quited the place ſupplied him with exact intelligence of the enemy's deſigns, when he was beſieged in the ſequel. Had he given a dangerous precedent of pillage and ſlaughter, he was perſuaded that he might have been the firſt victim of this judicious conduct, in caſe he had fallen in the hands of the enemy.

The town was in a little time inveſted by the French Nabob, Sundah Sahab, at the head of barbarians, with no other courage than that inſpired by opium, aſſiſted by three or four French engineers, who directed the operations of the ſiege. Notwithſtanding Mr. Clive had flattered himſelf with retarding their approaches by ſome unſucceſsful ſallies, they at length effected two breaches, ſup-

pos-

poſed to be practicable; and on the fourteenth day of October, in the year 1751, gave a general aſſault. Mr. Clive, having received intimation of their deſign, truſted to the braveries of ſome European ſoldiers, who repulſed the pusillanimous Indians in ſeveral quarters; all during the whole army being ſtruck with a panic, raiſed the ſiege with the utmoſt precipitation. Thoſe who have praiſed Mr. Clive's military ſkill and conduct on this occaſion, muſt ſuppoſe that the art of attacking and defending places was infuſed into him, as he had neither theory nor practice to command the operations of a ſiege. When we conſider a body of men led up to the attack, dreſſed in long ſilk garments, with no other fears from defeat, but that of changing their mode of ſlavery, provoked to fight by a ſudden guſt of paſſion, inſtead of that cool intrepidity which ſurmounts all obſtacles and difficulties, our admiration muſt ceaſe, as common ſenſe and preſence of mind, are ſufficient to diſcomfit with a handful of men, a herd of effeminate and daſtardly wretches, without diſcipline, and nurtured in unmanly ſoftneſs and effeminacy. Immediately after theſe diſpirited Indians had abandoned the ſiege, Mr. Clive, was reinforced by a detachment under captain Kirk Patrick, who adviſed him to march in purſuit of the enemy, whilſt they flew in diſorder and confuſion. They overtook them in the plains of Arani, where, on the third day of December, they attacked them before they had time to aſſemble their ſcattered bodies, and put themſelves in poſture of defence; after the firſt onſet they obtained a compleat, but I cannot ſay a glorious victory, as the Indians ſcarcely offered any reſiſtance,

and

and laying down their arms ſupplicated the clemency of the conquerors; if there was any merit in this action, it was owing to captain Kirk Patrick's counſels and the gallant countenance of his men; however, his name has been ſcarcely mentioned by the hiſtorians of the country, and the whole ſucceſs was *attributed* to the fortunate Mr. Clive. It is *known* that he ordered ſeveral of theſe proſtrate *wretches* to be maſſacred in cool blood after the action, and that he ſhewed in the field a rapaciouſneſs and a cruelty, which proved that the moderation and the lenity he had affected at Arcot, proceeded from motives very different than the natural ſuggeſtions of his own feelings.

The cities of Arani and Kaſicaran, after this defeat, opened their gates to the victors, and Mr. Clive returned to Fort St. David's, in a pompous triumph; he had enjoyed a few weeks the honours of a ſort of Apotheoſis, when he was ſummoned to the field by freſh incurſions of the enemy.

In the beginning of the year 1752, he marched with a ſmall detachment to Madraſs, where he was joined by a reinforcement from Bengal, the whole number amounting to four hundred Europeans and aſſembled a body of the natives, which together formed an army of 3000 men. With theſe he proceeded to Koveripauk, about fifteen miles from Arcot, where he found the French and Indians, conſiſting of one thouſand ſea-poys, ſeven hundred horſe, a body of natives and one hundred Europeans, with eight pieces of cannon. Mr. Clive obſerving that they were advantageouſly poſted and intrenched, and the day being already far advanced, had deferred the attack till the next

 morning,

morning; if some officers of his army had not gallantly offered to lead immediately the four hundred Europeans, to the entrenchment of the enemy, as from them alone depended the success of this engagement, being four to one European of the opposite side. Mr. Clive [illegible] to betray any marks of fear, and appre[illegible] that the dawn of his military reputation might be eclipsed by the eagerness of the subalterns to fight the enemy, approved of their resolution. They advanced against them with great intrepidity, but the victory remained for a long time in suspence, it was now almost dark, and the battle doubtful, when an officer bold and enterprizing proposed to Mr. Clive, to send him round with a detachment, to fall on the rear of the French battery; this attack was executed with great conduct and bravery, while the English in front entered the entrenchments with their bayonets fixed and displayed the spirit and activity of hardy veterans; this double attack disconcerted the enemy in such a manner, that they desisted immediately from all opposition; a considerable carnage ensued, tho' the greater part of the enemy both horse and foot, saved themselves by flight, under cover of the darkness. The French thus cowardly deserted, were forced to throw down their arms and to surrender themselves prisoners of war; and all the cannon and baggage fell into the hands of the victors.

Those who have served in India know, that the natives and sea-poys are brought into the field as if it was only to make the appearance of an army. The Europeans commonly bear the brunt of the battles, and they no sooner yield than the nabob's

give

give to their ſubjects the firſt example of timidity and deſpair. It has been obſerved, that the Indians, who never were a warlike people, ſeldom engage ſpontaneouſly againſt their own countrymen; as for the ſea-poys, they are mercenaries who generally follow the fortune of their leaders. The French having received intelligence before the battle of Kovaripauk that a ſuperior body of Europeans were marching againſt them, had no hopes of ſafety, but in protecting themſelves and their puſillanimous allies, from any ſudden attack of the enemy; and as the Indians made at laſt no oppoſition to their aſſailants; it is no wonder that one hundred Europeans ſhould be vanquiſhed by four times that number of troops, equal in courage and diſcipline, and ſuperior in bodily ſtrength and perſeverance.

Thus Mr. Clive aſſumed to himſelf the honour of having cleared the province of Arcot of the enemy, and returned with his forces to Fort St. David, where, to his great mortification, he found Major Lawrence juſt arrived from England to take upon him the command of the troops in the company's ſervice. On the eighteenth day of March this valiant officer, accompanied by Mr. Clive, took the field, and was joined by captain Gingen, at Teruchirapalli; from hence he detached Mr. Clive, with four hundred European ſoldiers, ſome Marratta horſe and a body of ſea poys, to cut off the enemy's retreat to Pondicherry, which ſhould have been done after the rout of Kovaripauk; had Mr. Clive known, how to take advantage of this defeat, it was not ſo much confidence in his abilities, than a deſign to try his military ſkill, that engaged Major Lawrence to ſend him upon that duty he had

been apprized at his arrival in India of the boaſted exploits of this riſing warrior, but he was not yet perſonally acquainted with all his merit.

In the courſe of this expedition he diſlodged a ſmall body of the enemy [illegible] at Sameavarem, and Sundah Saheb [illegible] own ſome of his wretched infantry into a temple fortified according to the Indian method upon the river Kaldaron, Mr. Clive knew there was no danger in inveſting it, as it was neither tenable nor well garriſoned. Effectively the commanding officer, at his approach in attempting to eſcape, was ſlain with ſome others, and the reſt ſurrendered at diſcretion. They were ſtill in poſſeſſion of another temple, and though it was badly fortified, and defended by a handful of men willing to ſurrender, he beſieged it in form, and had the modeſty to reduce it by capitulation. Having made theſe eaſy conqueſts, he received orders to march directly to Golconda, whither he underſtood the French commander had retired; that officer with thirty Europeans, and a ſmall body of ſea-poys, could not preſume to face four hundred ſoldiers; he was endeavouring to intrench himſelf in a village with his little troop, but before he had compleated his works, he was drove by the ſuperior force of the enemy, who made themſelves maſter of the French cannon. The fugitives attempted to ſave themſelves in a neighbouring fort; but the gates being ſhut againſt them by the governor, who was apprehenſive they would be followed pell-mell by the Engliſh; Mr. Clive availing himſelf of their diſtreſſed ſituation, attacked them and made a general ſlaughter of theſe defenceleſs and famiſhed wanderers After moſt

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of them were deſtroyed in wanton barbarity, Mr. Clive ſhewed his humanity, by ſending a flag of truce to the few who had eſcaped the carnage, with terms of capitulation which they were in no condition to refuſe; the articles imported that Mr. Dantevil and three other officers, ſhould remain priſoners on parole for one year; that the garriſon ſhould be exchanged; and the money and ſtores be delivered to the Nabob whom the Engliſh ſupported. There the fortune of Mr. Clive continued to accompany him, as he had found no reſiſtance from the enemy he had been ſent to ſubdue.

During theſe tranſactions, Sundah Saheb, lay encamped with an army of 30,000 men, at Surinham, an iſland in the neighbourhood of Teruchirapali, which he longed eagerly to poſſeſs. Hither Major Lawrence marched with his Indian allies, and took his meaſures ſo well, that the enemy's proviſions were entirely intercepted. Sundah Saheb, in attempting to fly was taken priſoner, by the Nabob of Tanjour, an ally of the Engliſh company, who ordered his head to be ſtruck off, in order to prevent the diſputes, which otherwiſe would have ariſen among the captors. The main body of the army being attacked by Major Lawrence, and totally defeated, the iſland of Surinham was ſurrendered, and about a thouſand European French ſoldiers, fell into the hands of the conquerors, including thirty officers, with forty pieces of canon and ten mortars, The Engliſh and their allies having obtained divers other ſucceſſive advantages under the conduct of Major Lawrence; Mr. Dupleix, recalled all his regulars from

from the Indian army, and acted upon the defenſive.

The victory at Surinham, reflected great honour upon Major Lawrence's military ſkill and generoſity, it put an end for a time to the European hoſtilites in India, and was a deciſive blow againſt the French power in the Peninſula within the Ganges, whilſt it diſplayed the diſintereſtedneſs and humanity of the victor.

The French company in France, diſcouraged by theſe repeated misfortunes, ſent over in the year 1753, one Mr. Duvelar, as their commiſſary, who with a view to reſtore peace in the Eaſt Indies; concluded a convention with the Engliſh company; by which it was ſtipulated, that the two companies ſhould reciprocally reſtore the territories taken by the troops of either, ſince the year 1748, except certain diſtricts, which the Engliſh detained for the convenience of their traffic. That the Nabobs advanced through the influence of either party, ſhould be acknowledged by both; and that for the future neither ſhould interfere in the differences between the princes of the country. The pacific ſentiments of the French ſubjects at this period in the Eaſt Indies, were the effects of Major Lawrence's ſteadineſs, prudence and activity.

The ceſſation of hoſtilities between the Engliſh, and French companies on the Peninſula of Indus, encouraged Mr. Clive to viſit his native country, from which he had been ten years abſent. He began to aſpire to the firſt command of the East India company forces, and flattered himſelf that the fame of his military atchievements, which had reached England before him, with his perſonal appearance,

pearance, would influence the directors to promote him, even above thoſe who had a prior claim to their attention by ſeniority and long ſervices; tho' perhaps not crowned with the fame fortune and ſucceſs.

He met at the India Houſe with a gracious reception, agreeable to the prepoſſeſſion of the directors for his military talents; his ſucceſsful expedition into the province of Arcot, where fortune had led him to glory without the terrifying dangers incident to war, made him worſhiped as the offſpring of Mars, by merchants who extolled every valuable acquiſition to their trading company, as the conqueſts of Cyrus, or an Alexander. He availed himſelf of this diſpoſition, to ſecure their confidence and ſupport, and making an enumeration of his ſervices, with the ſpecious modeſty of accounting to them for his conduct in the field, he artfully ſuggeſted that none was capable but himſelf to execute the great plans he had formed for the company's future grandeur and proſperity; in fine, he gained over them that aſcendency, which conceit and vanity commonly obtain over weak and credulous minds.

The few good officers in England, who had ſerved the precedent war, in Flanders and Germany; perceived, in hearing from his own mouth a relation of his military tranſactions, that his mind was not the leaſt tinctured with the firſt rudiments in the art of war; and admired his good luck, in deſpiſing juſtly his preſumption and his ignorance.

The late Mr. Charles Townſend, who was an excellent judge of men, ſaid of him, "the fellow

was

was right to tranſplant himſelf, he could not thrive in his native ſoil."

He had nothing in his figure, in his addreſs, and in his manner, that could ſecond his deſign to marry a rich heireſs; but he chiefly depended upon his reputation, and the moderate fortune of fifty thouſand pounds, which he had acquired in one campaign, by military contributions, and the *douceurs* of a commanding officer in the company's ſervice. However the amiable qualities of Miſs Maſkeline, daughter of a reputable gentleman in the county of Wilts, fixed the affection of the young hero, who found in her merit and fidelity, all the ſweets of domeſtic comfort, which ſhould have made him happy.

The truce between the two companies was not of long duration; whenever there is between merchants a probability on either ſide to gain ſome advantage from the infraction of commercial conventions, there is a degree of avarice, a paſſion too often productive of fraud and injuſtice, that breaks through all fences of public faith.

The Engliſh miniſtry had ſent rear Admiral Watſon, and rear Admiral Pocock, with a ſquadron of capital ſhips, having Aldercorn's regiment on board, to the Eaſt Indies, in order to ſupport our intereſts there; of which the court of France was no ſooner informed, than dreading the conſequences of a war with the Engliſh, on that trading coaſt, they diſpatched Mr. Godſhew, with orders to ſuperſede Mr. Dupliex in his government, and afterwards exert his utmoſt endeavours to conclude a pacific treaty with the governor of Madraſs and with the other Engliſh ſettlements on the coaſt

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of Coromandel; accordingly the propoſals he made being highly acceptable to the Engliſh. On the twenty-ſixth of December, 1754, articles of a proviſional treaty and ſtipulations of a truce were ſigned between governor Saunders and Mr. Godehew; ſoon after which the latter of theſe gentlemen was recalled home, and Mr. de Leyrit appointed to ſucceed him. His conduct ſoon convinced the Engliſh, that the tranquility which they hoped would have been permanent, was founded on an uncertain baſis, as Mr. de Leyrit was reſtleſs, bold and enterprizing; they were not miſtaken, for early in the year, it was found, that the French were endeavouring, though in direct contravention of the proviſional treaty, to make themſelves maſters of all Decan; at the ſame time, they alſo took poſſeſſion of Golconda, and ſent aſſiſtance to the Polygor of Vellour, then in actual rebellion againſt his ſovereign, Mahomed Ally Khan, our ally.

The two companies recommenced their warlike operations no longer as auxiliaries to the princes of the country; but as principals and rivals, both in arms and commerce. Major Lawrence who now enjoyed the chief command of the Engliſh forces, obtained divers advantages over the enemy; and proſecuted his ſucceſs with vigour, as in all probability, would in a little time, have terminated the war, according to his own wiſh; when the progreſs of his army was interrupted and ſuſpended, by an unfortunate event, at Calcutta; the cauſe of which, is not eaſily explained; for extraordinary pains have been taken, to throw a veil

over ſome tranſactions, from whence this calamity was immediately or remotely derived.

After the negociation between the Engliſh, and French companies had been renewed, Suzajud Douza, viceroy of Bengal. Baher and Orixa, taking umbrige at the refuſal of certain duties, to which he laid claim, being particularly incenſed againſt the Engliſh governor of Calcutta, for having granted protection to one of his ſubjects, whom he had outlawed; and, moreover irritated by other practiſes of the company, which it is not our plan to unfold; levied a numerous army, and marching to Calcutta, inveſted the place, which was then in no poſture of defence; even againſt effeminate and undiſciplined Aſiatics. The governor intimidated by the number, and power of the enemy, cowardly abandoned the fort; and with ſome principal perſons reſiding in the ſettlement, took refuge on board a ſhip in the river; carrying along with them their moſt valuable effects, and the books of the company. The defence of the place devolved to Mr. Holwell, the ſecond in command, who with the aſſiſtance of a few gallant officers, and a very feeble garriſon, maintained it with uncommon courage and reſolution, againſt ſeveral attacks, until he was overpowered by numbers; and the enemy had forced their way into the caſtle: then he was obliged to ſubmit; and the Suba, or Viceroy, promiſed on the word of a ſoldier, that no injury ſhould be done to him, or his garriſon.

Nevertheleſs, they were all driven to the number of one hundred and forty-ſix perſons of both ſexes, into a place called the Black-hole-prison, without any entrance for air, except by two ſmall win-

windows to the weſt, ſtrongly barred with iron, through which there was no perceptible circulation.

The horror of the miſerable ſituation to which they were reduced, makes humanity ſhudder; thus ſtewed up in a cloſe ſultry night, under ſuch a climate as that of Bengal, theſe hapleſs victims in the pangs of diſtraction and deſpair, implored in vain, the compaſſion of the guard, which they attempted to provoke to fire upon them, by execration and abuſe; many of them falling down, were trod to death, or ſuffocated. The dreadful ſymptoms of thirſt was now accompanied with a difficulty of reſpiration; and every individual gaſped for death: The confuſion became general and horrid. All was clamour, ſhrieks, groans, conteſt and confuſion. The inhumane ruffians without derived entertainment from their miſery: in this ſituation they remained till day aroſe; and the weak were preſſed to the ground, never to riſe again; towards morning, all was horror, ſilence, languor and deſolation. The Suba being informed, that the greateſt part of the priſoners were ſuffocated, enquired if the chiefs was alive, and being anſwered in the affirmative, ſent an order for their immediate releaſe; when no more than twenty-three ſurvived, of an hundred and forty-ſix, who had entered alive. Mr. Holwell, and three of his friends loaded with fetters, were conveyed to the Indian camp, and from thence conducted to Muxabadad, the capital of Bengal, where they were laid in chains as a ſpectacle to the inhabitants, and treated for ſome days, as the worſt of criminals. At laſt, the Suba, with ſome marks of compunction and generoſity, let Mr. Holwell and his friends at liberty. We are

ſorry to ſay, that this cruel treatment ſhocking as it was, paſſed in the opinion of the Indians, for a juſt retaliation of the injuries and oppreſſions, they had ſuffered from the company's ſervants in the Peninſula, within the Ganges.

By the reduction of Calcutta, the company's affairs were ſo much embroiled in that part of the world, that perhaps nothing could have retrieved them, but the interpoſition of a national force; and the well-concerted plans of admiral Watſon, from which Mr. Clive derived all the reputation, and his immenſe wealth. In conſequence of the admiral's intelligence at Fort St. David's, where he was arrived, that Tullagee Angria, a Priatical prince in the neighbourhood of Bombay, was on the eve of concluding a treaty with the nation of the Marrattas, which might prove prejudicial to the intereſts of the Engliſh company, a reſolution was taken to drive him from his reſidence at Geriah, which was well fortified, and annihilate his power, which was formidable to all the trading ſhips of Europe.

Watſon, after refitting his ſquadron at Bombay. With all neceſſary information, with reſpect to the harbour and fort of Geriah, determined, with the advice of a council of war, to proceed on the expedition without delay; being joined by a diviſion of ſhips, fitted out at the company's expence, having on board a body of troops, commanded by Mr. Clive, raiſed to the rank of lieutenant colonel ſince his return from Europe; he ſailed on the fourth day of February 1756; and found in the neighbourhood of Geriah, the Marratta fleet, who had likewiſe equipped an armament both by

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ſea and land againſt the pirate. Rhamagee Punt who commanded the land army, amounting to 7000 men, had already taken one ſmall fort, and was actually treating for the ſurrender of Geriah. Angria himſelf had quitted the place, but his wife and family remained under the protection of his brother-in-law, who being ſummoned to ſurrender by the admiral replied, that he would defend the place to the laſt extremity: in conſequence of this refuſal, the whole Engliſh fleet, in two diviſions ſailed on the 12th of February into the harbour, and ſuſtained a warm fire from the enemy's batteries as they paſſed. This, however, was ſoon ſilenced after the ſhips were brought to their ſtations; a ſhell being thrown into one of Angria's armed veſſels ſet her on fire, and the flames communicating to the reſt, they were all deſtroyed; the fort was ſet on fire by another ſhell, and ſoon after the firing ceaſed on both ſides. The admiral ſuſpecting that the governor of the place would ſurrender it to the Marrattas, rather than to the Engliſh, diſembarked all the troops under Mr. Clive, that they might be at hand, in caſe of emergency to take poſſeſſion; in the mean, time the fort was bombarded; the line of battle ſhips were warped near enough to batter in breach; and then the admiral ſent an officer with a flag of truce to the governor, requiring him to ſurrender; his propoſal being again rejected, the Engliſh ſhips renewed their fire next day with redoubled vigour; the magazine of the fort being blown up, the garriſon hung out a white flag for capitulation; the parley that enſued, proving ineffectual, the engagement began again, and remained till the white flag was again diſplayed, and

now

now the governor ſubmitted to the terms which were impoſed: the flag of Angria was ſtruck, and two captains from Clive's army, at the head of a detachment, took poſſeſſion of the fort, and immediately hoiſted the Britiſh colours.

The admiral having thus reduced the capital of the pirate's dominions, determined to carry off all the ſtores, in order to prevent Angria from rendering it again formidable to Europe, or merchantſhips in theſe ſeas: he found in the place two hundred pieces of cannon, ſix large mortars, a large quantity of ammunition, with money and effects, to the value of one hundred and thirty thouſand pounds; but this loſs, however fatal it might prove to Angria, was not the greateſt; his whole fleet, and a great number of Gallivats were totally deſtroyed. Among the priſoners the admiral found Angria's wife, children, and mother, towards whom he demeaned himſelf with great humanity; three hundred European ſoldiers, and as many ſea-poys were left to guard the fort, and four of the company's armed veſſels remained in the harbour, for the defence of the place, which was extremely well ſituated for commerce. Though colonel Clive claimed ſome merit in this acquiſition, he was a mere ſpectator of the admiral, and his fleet's ſucceſs and gallantry; which inſpired him with envy, the paſſion of little ſouls; if he had no ſhare in the glory of reducing this place, he did not forget to demand a part of the booty.

The Admiral and Mr. Clive ſailed back to Madraſs, and there another plan was formed by Mr. Watſon, for reſtoring the Company's affairs upon

upon the Ganges; recovering Calcutta, and taking vengeance on the cruel Viceroy of Bengal. In October, the Admiral and the Colonel set sail again for the bottom of the Bay, and about the beginning of December arrived at Balliſſore, in the kingdom of Bengal; they proceeded up the Ganges as far as Falta, where they found Governor Drake, and the other perſons who had eſcaped on board the ſhips when Calcutta was inveſted. Colonel Clive was diſembarked with his forces to attack the fort of Buſbudiga by land, while the Admiral battered it by ſea: but the place being ill provided with cannon, did not hold out above an hour after the firing began. This conqueſt being atchieved at a very eſay purchaſe, two of the great ſhips anchored between Tann fort and a battery on the other ſide of the river, which were abandoned before any ſhot were diſcharged againſt either; thus the paſſage was laid open to Calcutta.

On the 31ſt of January 1757, Admiral Watſon, with two ſhips appeared before the town, and was received by a briſk fire from the batteries: this ſalute was returned ſo warmly, that the enemy's guns were ſoon ſilenced, and in leſs than two hours, the place and fort were abandoned. Colonel Clive, on the other ſide inveſted the town, and the land forces under his command made their attack with that vigour and intrepidity, which greatly contributed to the ſudden reduction of the ſettlement. As ſoon as the fort ſurrendered, the brave and active Captain Coote, with the King's troops, took poſſeſſion, and found ninety-one pieces of cannon,

four

four mortars, abundance of ammunition, ſtores and proviſions with every requiſite for ſuſtaining an obſtinate ſiege, had the Indian garriſon avail[illegible] themſelves of all theſe advantages. Thus the Engliſh were re-eſtabliſhed in the two ſtrongeſt fortreſſes on the Ganges, with the inconſiderable loſs of nine ſeamen killed and three ſoldiers, which ſhows in how deſpicable a light we muſt conſider the enemy they had to encounter; it would be ungenerous to deprive the Admiral of the merit of his naval operations, to which the ſucceſs of this enterprize was chiefly due.

A few days after, Hughly a city of great trade, ſituated higher up the river, was reduced with as little difficulty. The loſs of this place was of infinite conſequence to the Nabob, as here, his ſtore-houſes of ſalt and vaſt granaries for the ſupport of his army were burnt and deſtroyed. Enraged at the almoſt inſtantaneous loſs of all his conqueſts, and demolition of the city of Hughly, the Viceroy aſſembled an army of ten thouſand horſe and fifteen thouſand foot, fully reſolved to expel the Engliſh out of his dominions, and take ample vengeance for the diſgraces he had lately ſuſtained. He was ſeen marching by the Engliſh camp in his way to Calcutta on the ſecond of February, where he encamped about a mile from the town. Colonel Clive immediately made application to the Admiral for a re-inforcement of men, and five hundred ſeamen under the command of Captain Warwick, were accordingly draughted from the different ſhips, and ſent to aſſiſt his army. Clive drew out his forces, advanced in three columns towards the enemy,

and

and he had ſcarcely begun the attack, than the Viceroy retreated, without giving the victors an opportunity to triumph over a feeble reſiſtance. The Indians in this rout loſt a thouſand men, killed, wounded and taken priſoners; five hundred horſes, great number of draught bullocks, and four elephants. The effeminate and luxurious Aſiatics, are always intimidated at the very ſight of a handful of Europeans in battle array. To this knowledge of their faint-heartedneſs, and of the panic fright which ſeizes their weak organs at the very report of fire arms, we may fairly attribute Mr. Clive's fortune and reputation in war.

Though this advantage was leſs deciſive than could have been expected from diſciplined troops in purſuit of barbarians, incapable to make an orderly retreat; yet it forced the Nabob to make great conceſſions to the company. He promiſed not to diſturb the Engliſh in any of thoſe privileges or poſſeſſions ſpecified in the Phirmand granted by the Mogul. 'That all merchandize belonging to the company, ſhould paſs and repaſs in every part of the province of Bengal, free of duty: That all damages ſuſtained by the Engliſh ſhould be repaired and their loſſes repaid: That the Engliſh ſhould have liberty to fortify Calcutta in whatever manner they thought proper, without interruption, That they ſhould have the liberty of coining all the gold and bullion they imported, which ſhould paſs current in the province: That he would remain in ſtrict friendſhip and alliance with the Engliſh; and uſe his utmoſt endeavours to heal up the late diviſions, and

reſtore the former good underſtanding between them.' All which ſeveral articles were ſigned and ſealed the ninth of February with the Nabob's own hand.

Such were the terms obtained for the company, which, however advantageous, colonel Clive repreſented as deluſive promiſes of a barbarian extorted from his preſent humiliation and neceſſity. But he artfully diſſembled his ſelfiſh views in theſe inſinuations, as a cruel tragedy to be acted upon the Viceroy, already deſigned the victim of his competitors avarice, untill this act of injuſtice and perfidy could be coloured with the plauſibleneſs of rendering permanent the company's poſſeſſions in Bengal, by the murder of this faithleſs prince.

The next object of the Engliſh commanders on this ſide of the Ganges, was the reduction of Chandenagore, a French ſettlement higher up the river than Calcutta, and of the moſt importance of any poſſeſſed by them in the Bay of Bengal. Colonel Clive being re-inforced by three hundred men from Bombay, began his march to Chandenagore, at the head of ſeven hundred Europeans, and one thouſand five hundred Indians, where on his arrival the 17th of March, he took poſſeſſion of all the out-poſts abandoned by the enemy, except one redoubt mounted with eight pieces of cannon, which he left to be ſilenced by the Admiral. On the eighteenth, the Admirals Watſon and Pocock arrived within two miles of the French ſettlement, with the Kent, Tiger and Saliſbury men of war, and found their paſſage obſtructed by booms laid acroſs the river, and ſeveral veſſels ſunk in the channel. Theſe

dif-

difficulties being removed, they advanced early the twenty-fourth, and drew up in a line before the fort which they battered with great fury for three hours; while colonel Clive was making his approaches on the land ſide. The batteries raiſed by ſome able engineers in his army, played vigorouſly; theſe united efforts ſoon obliged the enemy to ſubmit. A flag of truce was waved over the walls, and the place ſurrendered by capitulation. The keys were delivered to captain Latham of the Tiger, and in the afternoon colonel Clive with his troops took poſſeſſion. The reduction of this fortreſs, in which was a numerous garriſon, well provided with proviſions and warlike ſtores, was effected with the loſs of forty men only, by the ſucceſs of the batteries of the men of war, and the apprehenſion of a bombardment from the naval commanders.

By the treaty of capitulation, the director, counſellors, and inferior ſervants of the ſettlement were allowed to depart with their wearing apparel. The Jeſuits were permitted to take away their church ornaments, and the natives to remain in the full exertion of their liberties; but the garriſon were to continue priſoners of war. The goods and money found in the place were conſiderable; but the principal advantage aroſe from the ruin of the head ſettlement of the French on the Ganges, which could not but interfere with the Engliſh commerce in theſe parts.

Now, that the French power was deſtroyed, colonel Clive reſolved to accompliſh his deſigns againſt the Viceroy, upon whom he animadverted ſeverely for his pretended delays in the exe-

execution of ſeveral articles of the treaty. He complained that the company's goods were ſtill loaded with high duties, and ſeveral other infractions of the peace, before the prince had had time to make the new arrangements agreed upon. He taxed him with the intention of coming to an open rupture on the firſt opportunity: He magnified the danger of recommencing hoſtilities againſt ſo powerful a prince, and influenced the council of Calcutta to imbibe theſe groundleſs fears and jealouſies; in the mean time, he cauſed his emiſſaries in the Viceroy's court, to ſound the leading perſons, and to make them ſenſible of their abjection and ſlavery. By the ſame practices he inſpired the principal officers of his army with the ſpirit of diſcontent and ſedition, and maintained that the peace of the country would never be reſtored unleſs either the Engliſh were expelled or the Nabob depoſed.

An army formidable having been ſent under the command of Mr. Dupree, to retake Chandenagore and to aſſiſt the Viceroy. Mr. Clive conſcious he had no chance againſt diſciplined veterans, bribed the French General, whom he cauſed immediately to write to the Nabob, to let him know that the Engliſh were invincible.

One Omichund, the Viceroy's confidential ſervant, was alſo corrupted by Mr. Clive's inſidious arts; he received four lack of rupees, to tell his maſter of an agreement made between the Engliſh and Monſieur Dupree to attack him.

Then he rouſed the ambition of Jaffier Ali Khan, his prime miniſter and chief commander a nobleman of great influence and authority in the

the province, and prevailed on him to become a traitor and an uſurper. Clive knew that death commonly follow the depoſition of princes, and was ſure to engage Jaffier Ali Khan, to act according to the maxims of this deteſtable policy. The colonel ſtipulated for his aſſiſtance in the new Viceroy's promotion, a part of Sulajud Dowla's treaſures. that could ſatisfy the moſt extended wiſhes of avarice. The conſpiracy was by mutual agreement, communicated by Ali Khan to Mr. Watts, ſecond in council at Calcutta, and they availed themſelves of the addreſs of this gentleman to inſure ſucceſs. When the plan was fully concerted, and after colonel Clive had ſecured the diſaffected Indians, and the council, he took the field with his army. Admiral Watſon undertook the defence of Chandenagore, and the garriſon was detached to re-inforce the colonel, together with fifty ſeamen, to be employed as gunners and in directing the artillery. On the ninteenth of June, a detachment was ſent to attack Cutwa fort and town, ſituated on that branch of the river forming the iſland Caſſembuzer: this place ſurrendered at the firſt ſummons; and here the colonel halted with the army three days, expecting advices from Ali Khan; but finding himſelf diſappointed of the wiſhed-for intelligence, he croſſed the river on the twenty-ſecond; and the ſame day attacked the Viceroy, at the head of twenty thouſand diſaffected ſlaves; Ali Khan declining as yet to declare himſelf openly, though he had gained the army to his party. After a ſhort conteſt, the enemy were put to flight; the Nabob's camp, baggage, and fifty

pieces

pieces of cannon taken, and an inglorious victory obtained over the Viceroy and ſome of his guards, who were not in the ſecret of the cauſes of this general defection. The colonel taking advantage of Sulajud Dowla's diſtreſſed ſituation, ſurrounded by traitors and enemies, marched to Muxadavar, the capital of the province, and was there joined by Ali Khan and the malecontents. It had been previouſly agreed that this nobleman ſhould be inveſted with the dignity of Nabob. Accordingly the colonel in open violation to the laws of nations, proceeded ſolemnly to depoſe Sulajud *Dowla, and with the* ſame ceremony, to ſubſtitute *Ali Khan in his* room, whom *the* paſſive *Indians* were compelled by military force to acknowledge as Subah of the provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orixa. Such a daring outrage to all the princes of the Eaſt, was looked on by them as an unparalleled inſtance of injuſtice and effrontery. The next odious ſtep taken by this mock ſovereign was to plunge his dagger to the breaſt of his maſter and benefactor. This execrable deed rank the perpetrators among ſavage ruffians. Even ſuppoſing that Sulajud Dowla had the hoſtile and treacherous deſigns, imputed to him, the company's forces were ſufficient to oblige him to a ſtrict performance of the treaty he had ſo lately ſigned, according to the laws of war, without having recourſe to an army of cowards and the moſt hardened villains. From this tranſaction, Mr. Clive derived chiefly his immenſe wealth, titles and honours.

Ali Khan readily complied with the conditions of

of his elevation; he conferred on his allies ſuch liberal rewards, and granted the company ſo extraordinary privileges, as fully demonſtrated how unſettled he thought himſelf in his new dignity, without their friendſhip and their aſſiſtance. By this alliance and the reduction of Chandenagore, the French were entirely excluded the commerce of Bengal and its dependencies; the trade of the Engliſh company was reſtored, and increaſed beyond the moſt ſanguine hopes. As the intereſt of this new ally, obliged him to remain firm to his engagements, he paid above two millions ſterling to the company, and the ſufferers at Calcutta, to indemnify their loſſes and gratified the ſoldiers and ſeamen, with the ſum of 600,000 l. theſe advantageous conceſſions, and exceſſive liberalities, made the company wink at the diſgraceful means by which they were obtained.

This great revolution was effected in the ſpace of fourteen days, and the government of three fertile, populous, wealthy, and extenſive provinces transferred, by the devices of an officer untutored in the art of war, and a fortunate adventurer without inſtruction and experience.

Mr. Clive had made free with admiral Watſon's name, after his death, to a treaty calculated for his purpoſe.

Amidſt theſe ſucceſſes, the company loſt Vizagapatam, one of their ſettlements on the Coromandel coaſt, and the nation, Admiral Watſon, who fell a victim to the unwholeſomeneſs of the climate, on the ſixteenth of Auguſt univerſally regretted. The factory and fort at Vizagapatam, were ſurrendered to the French a few days after colonel Clive had made a new Nabob.

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Perhaps this remote power will, one day either ſerve to drain from the mother country, all its uſeful hands, or our victories will teach the native barbarians to avail themſelves of their numbers, and by being frequently defeated, they will at laſt learn to conquer.

The war was carried on in the Eaſt Indies with great vigour, though not always with ſucceſs; the French general Lally, was employed in making preparations for the ſiege of Madraſs; under his guidance, the French affairs ſeemed for ſome time to wear a better face; he had taken Fort St. David's, plundered a town belonging to the King of Tanjour, in alliance with the Engliſh, and after laid ſiege to his capital; failing in his deſign upon this city, he had entered the province of Arcot, and flattered himſelf with the eaſy conqueſt of the chief ſettlement of our company, upon the coaſt of Coromandel. On the twelfth of December 1758, he marched over Choullery plain, in three diviſions, cannonaded by the Engliſh artillery, and took poſt Egmore and St. Thome. Colonel Lawrence who commanded the garriſon at Madraſs, retired to the iſland, in order to prevent the enemy, taking poſſeſſion of the Iſland-bridge, and at the ſame time ordered the poſts to be occupied in the black town or ſuburbs of Madraſs. In the morning of the fourteenth the enemy marching with their whole force to attack this place, the Engliſh detachment retreated into the garriſon; and within the hour a grand ſally was made, under the command of colonel Draper, an officer who wrote in his tent like Cæſar, and appeared in the field with the ſame cool intrepidity.

pidity; he attacked the regiment of Lorrain with great impetuoſity, and would have cut them off, had they not been ſuſtained by the arrival of a freſh brigade. After a very warm diſpute, the colonel diſſatisfied with the conduct of his grenadiers, made a judicious retreat; as the garriſon of Madraſs was not very numerous, nothing more was attempted on their ſide without the works. The enemy opened their batteries againſt the fort and town, on the ſixth day of January, 1759, and maintained a continued diſcharge of ſhot and ſhells for twenty days, advancing their trenches all the time under cover of this fire, until they reached the breaſt of the Glacis. In the ſiege of this important fortreſs, a greater variety of difficulties preſented than Mr. Lally expected. The artillery of the garriſon was well managed, while on the other ſide the French acted with their uſual impatience and impetuoſity. Mr. Lally in order to intimidate the inhabitants, cruelly bombarded the town and demoliſhed the houſes; he was however happily diſappointed in his expectation, by the wiſe and reſolute precautions of Governor Pigot; by the vigilance, conduct and bravery of the colonels Lawrence and Draper, ſeconded by the valour and activity of Major Brereton, and the ſpirit of the inferior officers. While theſe operations were carried on before the town, Major Caillaud with a body of troops, drawn from the Engliſh garriſon of Trichenapoly and Chingliput, blocked up the roads in ſuch a manner, that the enemy were obliged four ſeveral times, to ſend large detachments againſt him, in order to open the communication. Thus the progreſs of the

ſiege was in ſome meaſure retarded. On the 16th day of February in the evening, the Queenborough ſhip of war, commanded by captain Kempenfelt, and the company's ſhip the Revenge, arrived in the road of Madraſs, with a reinforcement of 600 men belonging to Colonel Draper's regiment; and part of them were immediately diſembarked. From the beginning of the ſiege, the enemy had diſcovered a backwardneſs in the ſervice, very unſuitable to their national character. They were ill ſupplied with proviſions, diſcouraged by the obſtinate defence of the garriſon, and all their hopes vaniſhed at the arrival of this reinforcement; it was in vain that their commander exhorted them to proceed, though a breach was made and lay open for fifteen days, no one of them dared to venture to the aſſault; after a briſk fire they raiſed the ſiege; and this miſcarriage ſo entirely depreſſed the ardour of the enemy, that they appeared quite diſpirited in almoſt every enſuing engagement. In this manner therefore their affairs went on declining no leſs by land than by ſea; the chagrin and mortification of Lally were ſtrongly marked in the intercepted letter he wrote to Mr. de Legret, dated the camp before Madraſs. He concluded it in the following words: "I had rather go and "command the caffres of Madagaſcar, than re"main in this Sodom, which it is impoſſible but "the fire of the Engliſh muſt deſtroy ſooner or "latter, even though that from Heaven ſhould "not." And in the poſtſcript, "I undertake "only to bring the army back, either to Ar"cotte or Sedraſte; for I ſhall quit it upon my "arrival there." Having deſtroyed the powder mills

mills at Ogmore, the French retreated to the territories of Arcot.

Though colonel Clive had no small ſhare in the relief or defence of Madraſs, I thought proper to mention ſome particulars of this ſiege, to follow the thread of the military operations in the Eaſt Indies. This was the firſt regular and obſtinate ſiege carried on by Europeans in Indoſtan, during this war. As the commanders on both ſides were men of military knowledge acquired by ſtudy, and improved by actual ſervice: they were rivals in ſentiment and a paſſion for glory, above craving rapaciouſneſs and ſordid avarice.

Mr. Clive enjoyed then at Calcutta his jaghire, the fruit of ſucceſsful arms and depredations.

The Engliſh forces in the Eaſt Indies, being as yet too weak to cope with Lally in the field, little detached expeditions were planned and executed, with equal vigour and conduct. Colonel Ford who commanded the troops in Bengal, obtained a complete victory over the French commander Conflans, in the neighbourhood of Muſulipatam, which he afterwards entered in triumph. At the ſame time, captain Richard Maitland was detached from Bomaay, in February, with 1500 ſeapoys and 900 Europeans, on an expedition againſt the ſeapoys who poſſeſſed the town and caſtle of Surat. Notwithſtanding the fire of the enemy, ranged in a line of battle oppoſite the Bundar, which was the ſtrongeſt fortification in theſe parts; he landed his troops and took the Bundar by aſſault. The outward town being thus gained, he began to bombard the town and caſtle, with ſuch fury, that next morning they

they ſurrendered, but on condition of being allowed to march out with their effects; and captain Maitland took poſſeſſion without farther diſpute. This conqueſt, which coſt two hundred men, including officers, was atchieved with ſuch expedition, that he returned to Bombay by the ninth of April.

The main body of the Engliſh forces, which had been centered at Madraſs, for the preſervation of this important ſettlement, took the field after the ſiege was raiſed, and poſſeſſed themſelves of Conjiveram, a place of great conſequence, which with the fort of Schengelpel, commanded all the adjacent country, and ſecured the Britiſh poſſeſſions to the northward. Mr. Lally, ſenſible of the importance of the poſt, took the ſame route, in order to diſlodge them; but finding all his attempts ineffectual; his troops were put in quarters of cantonment. Major Brereton who commanded the Engliſh forces, being joined by Major Gordon with three hundred men of colonel Coote's battalion, reſolved to attack the enemy in his turn. On the fourteenth day of September he began his march from Conjiveram for Wandervaſh, at the head of four hundred Europeans, ſeven thouſand ſea-poys, ſeventy European and three hundred black horſe, with fourteen pieces of artillery. In his march he inveſted and took the fort of Trivitor, from whence he proceeded to the village of Wandevaſh, where the French to the number of one thouſand were ſtrongly encamped, under the guns of a fort commanded by a Raja, mounting twenty cannon, under the direction of a French gunner. The Engliſh attacked the village

lage in three different places, and drove them from it, after a very obſtinate diſpute; but this advantage they were not able to maintain. At day-break, the fort poured in upon them a prodigous diſcharge of grape, ſhot, with a conſiderable effect, the enemy made furious ſallies, and the Engliſh in this emergency retired in diſorder, though the body of reſerve effectually covered their retreat, this could not be effected without the loſs of ſeveral officers and above 300 hundred men killed and wounded. The rainy ſeaſon ſetting in, they retired after this mortifying check to Conjiveram. The fort of Vandevaſh was afterwards garriſoned by French and ſeapoys, and the other forces of the enemy were aſſembled by brigadier general de Buſſy, at Arcot.

During theſe tranſactions at land, the ſuperiority at ſea was ſtill diſputed between the Engliſh and French Admirals. On the firſt day of September, Vice Admiral Pocock, ſailed from Madraſs in queſt of the enemy, and the next day deſcried the French fleet; but he could not bring them to an engagament, till the tenth, when Mr. Dapche, about two in the afternoon, made the ſignal for battle, and the cannonading begun without further delay. The Britiſh ſquadron did not exceed nine ſhips of the line; the enemy's fleet conſiſted of eleven; but they had ſtill a greater advantage in men and artillery. Both ſquadrons fought with great impetuoſity, till above ten minutes after four, when the enemy's rear began to give way; this example was ſoon followed by their centre; and finally the van with the whole ſqua-

dron bore to the ſouth-eaſt, with all the canvaſs they could ſpread. The Britiſh ſquadron was ſo much damaged in their maſts and rigging, that they could not purſue; ſo that Monſieur Dapche retired at his leiſure unmoleſted. On the ſide of the Engliſh above 300 men were killed in the engagement with captain Michie, who commanded the Newcaſtle. The captains Somerſet and Brereton, with about 250 men were wounded, and many of the ſhips conſiderably damaged, the loſs of the enemy muſt have been much more conſiderable, as the French ſquadron was crowded with men. They now made the beſt of their way to the iſland of Mauritius, and left the Engliſh maſters of the Indian coaſt. The French ſo ſuperior in number of ſhips and men, always declined a deciſive engagement.

The French were not the only enemies the Engliſh had to fear in this part of the world. The jealouſy of the Dutch was excited by the late extenſion of our power in the kingdom of Bengal, and our flouriſhing trade wheted the avarice of their factors, who poſſeſſed a ſtrong fort at Chincura; they were reſolved, if poſſible, to engroſs the whole ſalt-petre branch of commerce; this diſpute, however trifling it may ſeem, may one day, be of greater conſequence than it appears at preſent. They had without doubt tampered with the new Nabob, and propably ſecured his connivance; he thought he had ſufficiently payed Mr. Clive, and the company for their aſſiſtance; and a treaty cemented by murder and treaſon, the crimes of ambition and avarice, was but a convention between unprincipled competitors which is commonly broken ſoon

ſoon as the contracting parties find their convenience and their advantage in the infraction. The ſcheme of the Dutch was approved by the governor of Batavia, who charged himſelf with the execution of it; and for that purpoſe, choſe the opportunity, when the Britiſh ſquadron had retired to the coaſt of Malabar; on pretence of reinforcing the Dutch garriſon in Bengal; he equipped an armanent of ſeven ſhips, having on board five hundred European troops and five hundred Malayeſe, under the command of colonel Ruſſel. This armament having touched at Negapatam, proceeded up the bay and arrived in the river of Bengal, about the beginning of October. Colonel Clive, who then reſided at Calcutta, the ſeat of his princely government, had received information of their deſign, which it was incumbent on him, if poſſible, to defeat. He complained to the Subah his friend and confederate, who, upon ſuch application, could not without the detection of his perfidy, refuſe an equivocal order to the Director and Council of Hughley, rather implying that this armament ſhould not proceed up the river. The colonel at the ſame time, ſent a letter to the Dutch commodore intimating that as he had received intelligence of the intention of his armament, he could not allow him to land his force and march to Chincura. To this declaration, the Dutchman anſwered, that he had no ſuch deſigns as were imputed to him; that he only requeſted liberty to land his troops to refreſh them, which was readily granted, on condition that they ſhould not advance. Notwithſtanding the Subah's engagements with Mr. Clive, he proved himſelf

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as faithleſs to his Engliſh allies, as he had been treacherous to his maſter. The Dutch commodore had made theſe conceſſions only till he knew that the ſhips which were to ſecond his operations were come up the river, and then throwing off the maſk, he proceeded to the neighbourhood of Tannafort, where his forces being diſembarked, began their march to Chinſura. Their plan was to render this place ſo formidable, as to be able to bid defiance to the power of the Engliſh company, and thus ſecure to themſelves the trade for ſalt petre, which this place afforded.

In the mean time, to retaliate for the affront he pretended to have received, in being denied a paſſage to their own factory, he took ſeveral ſmall veſſels belonging the Engliſh company; and the Calcutta indiaman, commanded by captain Wilſon, homeward bound, ſailing down the river, the Dutchman gave him to underſtand, that if he preſumed to paſs he would ſink him without farther ceremony. The Engliſh captain ſeeing them point their guns, as if he really reſolved to put his threats in execution, returned to Calcutta, who two other india ſhips lay at anchor; and reported his adventure to colonel Clive, who inſtantly ordered the three ſhips to prepare for battle and attack the Dutch armament. The ſhips being properly manned, and their quarters lined with ſalt petre, they fell down the river, and found the Dutch ſquadron drawn up in a line of battle, in order to give them a warm reception, for which indeed they ſeemed well prepared; for three of them were

mounted

mounted with thirty-six guns each, three of them with twenty-six, and the seventh carried sixteen. The Duke of Dorset, commanded by captain Forrester, being the first that approached them, dropped anchor close to their line, and began the engagement with a broadside, which was immediately returned. A dead calm unfortunately intervening, this single ship was for a considerable time exposed to the whole fire of the enemy; but a small breeze springing up, the Calcutta and the Hardwick advanced to her assistance, and a severe fire was maintained on both sides, till two of the Dutch ships slipping their cables, bore away and a third was driven on shore. Their commodore thus weakened; after a few broadsides struck his flag to captain Wilson, and the other three followed his example; the victory being thus obtained, without the loss of one man on the side of the English, captain Wilson took possession of the prizes, the decks of which were strewed with carnage, and sent the prisoners to colonel Clive at Calcutta. The detachment of troops which they had landed, to the number of eleven hundred men, was not more fortunate in their progress. Colonel Clive receiving intelligence that they were in full march to Chincura, detached colonel Ford with five hundred men for Calcutta, in order to oppose and put a stop to their march, at the French gardens. He accordingly advanced to the northward, and entered the town of Chandenagore, where he sustained the fire of a Dutch party, sent out from Chincura, to join and conduct the expected re-inforcement. These being

ing routed and diſperſed, after a ſhort action. Colonel Ford in the morning proceeded to a plain in the neighbourhood of Chincura, where he found the enemy prepared to give him battle on the 25th day of November. They even advanced to the charge with great reſolution and activity: but found the fire of the Engliſh artillery and battallion ſo intolerably hot, that they ſoon gave way, and were totally defeated. A conſiderable number were killed, and the greater part of thoſe, who ſurvived the action were taken priſoners. During this conteſt the Nabob at the head of a conſiderable army, obſerved a ſuſpicious neutrality, and in all likelihood would have declared for the Dutch, had they proved victorious, as he had reaſon to believe they would, from their great ſuperiority in number; but fortune no ſooner determined in favour of the Engliſh, than he made a tender of his ſervices to the victor, and even offered to reduce Chincura with his army. Mr. Clive thought it more conſiſtent with his intereſt and reputation to diſſemble, than to ſhew his reſentment to this perfidious ally, as a rupture between them might have brought to light certain tranſactions which the colonel wiſhed to hide from the knowledge of the public.

In the mean time propoſals of accommodation being ſent to the Subah, by the directors and council of the Dutch factory at Chincura, a negotiation enſued and a treaty was concluded to the ſeeming ſatisfaction of all parties. Above 300 of the priſoners entered into the ſervice of Great Britain; the reſt embarked on board their ſhips, which

which were reſtored as ſoon as the peace was notified, and ſet out on their return to Batavia. The Engliſh demands were, that the director and council of Chincura ſhould give full ſatisfaction, to the preſident and council of Fort William, for the inſult offered to the Britiſh flag, by the commanders of the Dutch ſhips, and for the detention of the Engliſh company's veſſels, fined and ſtopt in the river, contrary to treaties. All the ſatisfaction the governor and council of Calcutta received on that account was a diſavowal of the governor and council of Chincura, having given orders to commit theſe acts of hoſtility.

The Dutch demands were, that the Engliſh ſhou d prevail on the Nabob to remain quiet in his camp, without doing them any injury, which they engaged to do. The Dutch officers and troops detained by the Engliſh, were conſidered as priſoners of the Nabob.

In anſwer to the Dutch propoſals, the Nabob agreed that the purchaſes and ſales of the Dutch company ſhould be carried on according to cuſtom, excepting the ſalt-petre of Azimabad, which was to be purchaſed by the means of Raja Ramnarian Bahadar; that nobody ſhould obſtruct the proviſion of cloth, &c. according to the cuſtom of the Aurungs.

The Dutch company engaged to bring no more armed forces into the country of Bengal, nor ever make war in the country, nor erect any fortifications, nor make any military preparations, and that they ſhould entertain no more than 125 European ſoldiers in all their factories eſtabliſhed within the three provinces; and in caſe of any diſputes or op-

oppreſſions that they would apply for redreſs to the Nazem of the provinces.

After all perhaps the Dutch company meant nothing more than to put their factory at Chincura on a more reſpectable footing; and by acquiring greater weight and conſequence among the people of the country, than they formerly poſſeſſed, the more eaſily extend their commerce in that part of the world. At any rate it will admit of a diſpute among thoſe who profeſs the law of nature and nations, whether the Dutch company could be juſtly debarred the privilege of ſending a re inforcement to their own garriſons. Their ſhips were not reſtored, until the factory at Chincura had given ſecurity to indemnify the *Engliſh* for the damage they had ſuſtained on this occaſion.

This conteſt was repreſented in very different lights to the reſpective governments at home; the Dutch declaimed againſt the Engliſh, oppreſſing all who attempted to trade in the Indies; while the Engliſh on the other hand, reminded the Dutch of their former cruelties, and of their deſire of gain, even at the expence of every moral obligation. However the Dutch wiſely gave way to a power they were unable to withſtand: though the peace was reſtored ſeemingly to the ſatisfaction of all parties; ſuch is the preſent ſituation of this conteſt, which may probably produce the ſeeds of future diſſenſion. The Dutch will upon all occaſions, think it allowable to increaſe their power in India to whatever pitch they think proper; and the Engliſh will ever find their intereſt to repel them. It may thus happen, that the amity of the two powers in Europe will not be ſufficient to preſerve unani-

animity in so distant a part of the world. In this manner, while Great Britain puts an end to one war, she often lays the foundation for another; for extended empire ever produces an increasing necessity of defence. The success of the English company's forces headed by commanders of untainted honour, and animated by that true courage which calls forth and unfolds the liberal virtues of the soul, was much more conspicuous against the French on the coast of Coromandel. There was an ample field for military emulation, as the leaders of the opposite armies were soldiers, who fought for glory, not for plunder, and to quench an insatiable thirst after riches against the dictates of justice and humanity. The governor and council of Madrass having received information that General Lally had sent a detachment of his army to the southward, taken Syringham, and threatened Trichinapolley with a siege, it was determined that colonel Coote, who had lately arrived from England, should take the field. This prudent and brave officer began his march at the head of 1700 Europeans, including cavalry, and 3000 blacks, with fourteen pieces of cannon and one howitz; he took the city of Vandevash in his way, reduced Carangoly a fortress commanded by colonel O'Kennedy, and at length came up with the French general, who was equally desirous of the engagement. It is remarkable enough that the commanders on either side were countrymen, but this did not, in the least, abate their attachment to the different crowns they served. General Lally alarmed at the progress of this valiant, enterprising and vigilant officer, assembled all his forces at

Arcot to the number of 2200 Europeans including horſe, 300 Caffaries, and 10,000 black troops, or ſeapoys, with 25 pieces of cannon.

On the tenth day of January, 1760, he began his march in order to recover Vandevaſh. Colonel Coote having received intelligence on the twelfth, that he had taken poſſeſſion of Conjeram, endeavoured by a forced march to ſave the place, which they accordingly abandoned at his approach. On the twenty firſt day of the month, colonel Coote advanced within two miles of the enemy's camp, where he halted with his army about half an hour. During this interval, he reconnoitered the ſituation of the French forces who were very advantageouſly poſted, and made a movement to the right, which obliged them to alter their diſpoſition. They now advanced in their turn, within a quarter of a mile of the Engliſh line, and the cannonading began with great fury on both ſides. Their European cavalry coming up, about noon, with a reſolute air to charge the left of the Engliſh, colonel Coote, brought up ſome companies of ſea-poys and two pieces of cannon, to ſuſtain the horſe, which were ordered to oppoſe them: and theſe advancing on their flank, diſhearted them ſo much that they broke and were driven by the Engliſh cavalry above a mile from the left, upon the rear of their own army; mean while both lines continued advancing to each other, and about one o'clock the firing with ſmall arms began with great vivacity. Major Brereton was ordered to wheel Draper's regiment to the left and fall upon the enemy's flank, this ſervice was performed with ſuch reſolution and ſucceſs, that the left wing of the French was completly

pleatly routed, and fell upon their centre, now clofely engaged with the left of the Engliſh. The engagement continued with much obſtinacy till about two in the afternoon, when the whole line of the French gave way, and fled towards their own camp; which however they as quickly abandoned and left their cannon and the field of battle to the conquerors. In this engagement they loſt about 800 men killed and wounded, beſides about fifty priſoners, including Brigadier General de Buſſy, the Chevalier Godeville quarter maſter general, lieutenant colonel Murphy, three captains, five lieutenants and ſome other officers. On the ſide of the Engliſh 262 were killed or wounded, and among the former the gallant and accompliſhed Major Brereton, whoſe death was a real loſs to his country.

Diſconcerted at this defeat and dreading a ſecond attack from colonel Coote, the French general retired with his broken troops to Pondicherry; the baron de Valſerot was detached towards the ſame place with 1000 horſe and 300 ſeapoys to ravage and lay waſte the French territories.

In the mean time, the indefatigable colone Coote, undertook the ſiege of Chilliput, whic in two days was ſurrendered by the chevalie de Tilly, himſelf and his grandſon remainin priſoners of war. Such alſo was the fate of for Timmery, which being reduced, the colonel pro ſecuted his march to Arcot, the capital of th provi[illegible]ce, againſt the fort of which he opene his batteries on the fifth day of February. Wh he had carried on his approaches within ſixt

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yards of the creſt of the glacis, the garriſon conſiſting of 250 Europeans and 300 ſeapoys ſurrended as priſoners of war; and here the Engliſh commander found twenty-two pieces of cannon, four mortars and a great quantity of military ſtores.

Thus the campaign was glorioufly finiſhed with the conqueſt of Arcot, after the French army had been routed and ruined by the diligence of colonel Coote, whoſe courage, conduct and activity cannot be ſufficiently admired.

After the reduction of Arcot, the garriſons of Permacoil and Allamparva ſurrendered themſelves priſoners of war in the beginning of May. The important ſettlement of Corical was reduced by the ſea and land forces commanded by rear-admiral Corniſh and major Monſon, and the French garriſon made priſoners of war. Nothing now remained to them of all their vaſt poſſeſſions in India, but Pondicherry. This capital of the French Indian power, in the days of its proſperity, exceeded all other European ſettlements here, in trade, opulence and ſplendor; and was ſtill the repoſitory of all the French wealth, which remained after repeated defeats. As ſoon as the fortreſſes adjacent to this importsnt place were reduced, colonel Coote ſat down before it reſolved upon the blockade by land, while admiral Stevens ſhut up their harbour by ſea; a regular ſiege was at that time impracticable, from the periodical rains which in that climate were ſoon expected to obſtruct ſuch operations. Theſe diſadvantages were even ſufficient to repreſs any attempts whatſoever; but notwithſtanding the in-

inclemency of the climate, the Engliſh commander continued before the place for full ſeven months; neither rains nor ſtorms were in the leaſt able to abate their aſſiduity; they continued the ſiege and preſſed the garriſon in ſuch a manner, that they were reduced to the moſt extreme diſtreſs. Lally, however, was reſolutely bent on ſuffering every calamity rather than yield this laſt ſtake of French power in India, though his ſoldiers were obliged to feed on dogs and cats, and even bought ſuch wretched proviſions extremely dear (eight crowns having been given for the flesh a dog) yet ſtill he determined to hold out, in the midſt of this diſtreſs, fortune ſeemed to give an opportunity of relief, had it been properly ſeconded.

In the beginning of January 1761, one of thoſe terrible ſtorms, which are common in thoſe climates, but of whoſe violence we can have but little idea in Europe wrecked a large part of the Engliſh fleet that was blocking up the harbour of Pondicherry. The ſhips of war called the Duke of Aquitaine and the Sunderland foundered in the ſtorm, and their crews periſhed. The Newcaſtle, the Queenborough, and Protector fireſhips were driven aſhore and deſtroyed; but the men were ſaved, together with the cannon, ſtores and proviſions, many other ſhips ſuſtained conſiderable damage, which, however was ſoon repaired. This was a blow which once more elevated the hopes of the deſponding garriſon, the governor now flattered himſelf with the hope of being ſupplied with proviſions: and once more animated his ſoldiers, long ſunk by diſeaſe, famine, fatigue, and uninter-

terrupted adverſity. He immediately wrote to Monſieur Raymond French reſident at Pullicat, a Dutch ſettlement for inſtant aſſiſtance; his eager impatience appears in the letter he ſent, it is no bad ſketch of the writer's character, which ſeems to have had a ſtrong tincture of oddity and extravagance.

"The Engliſh ſquadron is no more, Sir, of the "twelve ſhips they had in our road, ſeven were "loſt, crew and all, the other four diſmaſted: and "no more than one frigate hath eſcaped, loſe not "an inſtant in ſending chelingoes upon chelingoes, "loaded with rice; the Dutch have nothing to "fear now; beſides according to the law of nati- "ons they are only reſtricted from ſending us "proviſions in their own bottoms and we are no "longer blockaded by ſea; the ſalvation of Pondi- "cherry has been once in your power already: if "you neglect this opportunity, the fault will be "all your's, offer great rewards, in four days, I "expect 17000 marattoes, in ſhort riſque all, at- "tempt all, force all, and ſend us ſome rice, "ſhould it be but half a garſe at a time."

Admiral Stevens having intercepted this letter, diſpatched immediately letters to the Dutch and Daniſh ſettlements on this coaſt, intimating, that notwithſtanding the inſinuations of general Lally, he had eleven ſail of the line with two frigates under his command, all fit for ſervice, in the road of Pondicherry, which was cloſely inveſted and blockaded both by land and ſea. He therefore declared, that as in that caſe, it was contrary to the laws of nations for any neutral power to relieve or ſuccour the beſieged,

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he was determined to ſeize any veſſel that ſhould attempt to throw any proviſions into the place.

In leſs than four days, Lally had the mortification to behold admiral Stevens again appearing in the harbour, who had repaired his loſſes with all poſſible celerity; and the blockade now became as complete as ever. Still, however, he made no propoſals to ſurrender, while the ſiege was carried on by his countryman with redoubled vigour: at length the French general found his troops half conſumed with fatigue and famine; a breach made in the rampart and not more than one day's proviſion of any kind remaining; he was now reduced to an extremity that would admit of no heſitation. A ſignal was therefore made to ceaſe hoſtilities; the principal of the Jeſuits, together with a colonel and two civilians came out and offered terms of capitulation in the behalf of the French eaſt india company. Lally however, could not be prevailed on to offer any terms; he ſent a paper filled with reproaches againſt the Engliſh to colonel Coote, and alledged that he would not treat with an enemy upon the honourable terms of war; who had already forfeited his honour in ſeveral inſtances. He therefore ſuffered the Engliſh troops to take poſſeſſion of the place, but refuſed to ſurrender it in uſual forms.

General Lally did ſet forth in his grievancies, againſt the Engliſh, that the taking of Chandenagore, was contrary to the faith of treaties, and of that of the neutrality ſubſiſting between the nations in that part of India.

That immediately after the ſignal ſervice which the

the French nation had rendered the Engliſh, not only in taking no part againſt them with the Nabob of Bengal, but in receiving them in their ſettlement to give them time to recover from their firſt loſſes as appeared from the letters of Mr. Pigot, and from the council of Madraſs to that of Pondicherry; they had refuſed to fulfill the conditions of the cartel agreed upon between their reſpective ſovereigns, though it was at firſt accepted by Mr. Pigot.

He demanded merely from a principle of juſtice and humanity, that the mothers and ſiſters of Reza Saib, ſhould be permitted to ſeek an aſylum where they pleaſed, and be not delivered up to Mahomed Ally Khan's hands, which was ſtill red with the blood of the huſband and father; that he had ſpilt to the ſhame indeed, of thoſe who gave them up to him; but not leſs to the ſhame of the commander of the Engliſh army, who ſhould not have allowed ſuch a piece of barbarity to be committed in his army.

Colonel Coote anſwered, that he could not take cognizance of what paſſed at Chandenagore, the particulars having been tranſmitted to his Britannic Majeſty, by the officer to whom the place ſurrendered.

He agreed that the mother and ſiſters of Rena Saib, ſhould be eſcorted to Madraſs, where proper care ſhould be taken for their ſafety: that they ſhould not on any account be delivered into the hands of Nabob Mahomed Ally Khan.

When colonel Coote took poſſeſſion of the town and citadel, he found a great quantity of ar-

artillery, ammunition, ſmall arms and military ſtores; then he found the garriſon to amount to above 2000 Europeans. Lally made a gallant defence, and had he been properly ſupplied with proviſions, the conqueſt of the place would not have been ſo eaſily archieved. An officer of his experience ſhould have demanded a capitulation before he was reduced to the neceſſity of acquieſcing to any terms the beſieged might have thought proper to impoſe.

By the reduction of Pondicherry the French intereſt was annihilated on the coaſt of Coromandel, and therefore of the utmoſt importance to the Britiſh nation; it may be doubted however, whether colonel Coote, with all his ſpirit, vigilance and military talents, could have ſucceeded in this enterprize without the aſſiſtance of the ſquadron, which co-operated with him by ſea and effectually excluded all ſuccour from the beſieged. The land and ſea officers, vied with each other in contributing their utmoſt efforts towards the ſucceſs of the expedition. This conqueſt terminated the power of France in India; the whole trade of that vaſt peninſula, from the Indies to the Ganges became our own, the moſt extenſive and profitable ſphere of commerce in the world. The Princes of the country knew the Engliſh force, and learned to fear it. The Engliſh eaſt india company have become the arbiters of empire. The Mogul himſelf has been defeated and taken priſoner. Happy if the company's ſervants had known when to bound the immoderate deſires of their avarice and their ambition, and happy if they had been convinced that when they ſhone bright-

eſt with the ſpoils of the eaſt, the company like a waſting taper was only haſtening to decay.

It is proper to inform the reader, that Jaffier Ali Khan, who had been eſtabliſhed Nabob, or Subah of Bengal by the army of the Engliſh, was now for his cruelty and mal adminiſtration depoſed by the influence and addreſs of the Engliſh preſident Vanſittart, and the government conferred on his ſon-in-law, Mir Mahomed Ali-Khan, who confirmed and augmented the privileges of the Engliſh company.

After the reduction of Pondicherry, a body of forces was embarked at Bombay, for an expedition againſt the French ſettlement at Mihie, ſituated on the coaſt of Malabar, about thirty miles to the northward of Tellichery. Major Hector Monro, who was entruſted with this command took his meaſures ſo well in concert with Mr. Hodges, commander at Tellichery and acted with ſo much vigour in the execution of the ſcheme, that in the beginning of February, Mr. Lovat, governor of the French garriſon at Mihie, ſurrendered the place with all its dependencies, tho' this acquiſition was of no great conſequence to the Engliſh, merely as a trading port, the laſt was ſeverely felt by the enemy, who had fortified it at a conſiderable expence, and mounted the fortifications with above 200 pieces of cannon.

The French officers in the Eaſt Indies, tried to recover by craftineſs, what they had loſt by the force of arms. They employed the arts of inſinuation with ſuch ſucceſs, as to intereſt in their cauſe a prince of the Mogul empire, called Shad Zadda, who took the field at the head of fourſcore thouſand men againſt the forces of the Engliſh Eaſt

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India company, commanded by Major John Carnack, and re inforced by the Subah of Bengal, his whole army conſiſted of 500 Europeans, 2500 ſeapoys, and 20,000 black troops, with twelve pieces of cannon. Both ſides advanced to the neighbourhood of Goga, and on the 15th day of January the Mogul army was defeated in a pitched battle, all their artillery was taken, together with part of their baggage, and a number of French officers, including Mr. Law, their principal commander. The Shah made an effort to join two Rajas, who had taken up arms againſt the Subah; but received intelligence that they were already reduced by the Engliſh troops, he ſurrendered at diſcretion to the Subah, who treated him with great reſpect, and promiſed with the aſſiſtance of the Engliſh company, to ſupport him in his pretenſions to the Mogul Empire. Count d'Eſtaing had counterbalanced the ſucceſs of the Engliſh in the Gulph of Perſia, and at Sumatra, with a ſmall ſquadron, he had made himſelf maſter of the Engliſh fort of Bundir-a-Baſſi, taken two frigates with three other veſſels belonging to the company. The Fort of Nattal had ſurrendered to him at diſcretion, and he found two ſhips in the road. After theſe exploits, he ſailed to Sumatra, where he reduced Benevulli, Tappanapoli, and Marlborough fort, which laſt, though in a good ſtate of defence was ingloriouſly given up by the Engliſh, after they had themſelves burned a rich company's ſhip that lay in the harbour.

The fleet in the Eaſt Indies commanded by vice-admiral Pocock towards the concluſion of the laſt war, conſiſted of eighteen ſhips from ſeven-

ſeventy to fifty guns, and in the other ſettlements five companies of colonel La Fauſille, five companies of colonel Parſlow, colonel Draper's regiment, lieutenant colonel Coote's regiment and lieutenant-colonel Morris's highlander's.

We have carried on the military operations of the French and Engliſh on the Coromandel and Malabar coaſts, to the eve of the laſt peice; after Mr. Clive had abandoned the field to officers, who had not acquired a military renown by the pillage and ſlaughter of timid Aſiatics, but in obſtinate battles and ſieges, againſt warlike and diſciplined veterans. If we take a retroſpect into the beginning of hoſtilities, in the peninſula within the Ganges, ſince the peace of *Aix la* Chapelle, we muſt think the Engliſh company entertained the moſt favourable opinion of the pacific diſpoſition of the Indians, or a contemptible idea of their valour, and military knowledge, as the defence and protection of their ſettlements were committed to Swiſs and other obſcure officers with a handful of men, who like their commanders had never been trained up ſoldiers. They had that ſordid mercantile ſpirit, which ſtimulated their avarice to acts of knavery and oppreſſion, without prompting them to noble and generous exploits. Mr. Clive had obſerved, during his abode in India, that the company's ſervants, who acted in a military capacity, had more than an opportunity to acquire a rapid fortune, with little more dangers and fatigues, than in the civil ſtation he had been brought up. It was this conſideration that in-

influenced him to make a tender of his military ſervices to the company in the abſence of major Laurence, an officer of diſtinguiſhed abilities, who knew Mr. Clive's ambition and admired his fortune. He fought always with a ſuperior number againſt the Europeans, and found hardly any reſiſtance and oppoſition againſt the Indians, who like a drove of cattle, ran at the firſt onſet. He was never engaged againſt armies of regulars headed in the field, or in deſperate ſieges by warlike commanders. When the French threatened with formidable forces from Europe, the deſtruction of the engliſh company's ſettlements, Draper, Coote and Brereton were the illuſtrious commanders, who by their ſkill, intrepidity and perſeverance, harraſſed, vanquiſhed and ſubdued, inveterate enemies whoſe fame in arms had been almoſt unrivalled. During theſe glorious atchievements, Mr. Clive pampered at Bengal in the affluence and luxury of an eaſtern potentate, ſedulous to accumulate by lawleſs exactions and monopolies his ill-gotten treaſures.

The colonel who had made Bengal his property, and aſſumed to himſelf the civil and military power, could not brook the humiliation of receiving orders and inſtructions from the directors of the company; and though he generally contrived to have them eluded in his preſidency, yet the idea of his being ſubordinate galled his haughty ſpirit, which aſpired to a dictatorial authority above his ſuperiors. He knew that in a commercial ſociety, riches muſt carry a great ſway, and in playing ſkilfully thoſe engine

gines of bribery, he was ſure to divide and command. Urged by theſe ambitious deſigns, he returned to England; where he could not fail of being treated by all ranks of people with the moſt flattering diſtinctions, after Mr. Pitt at that time, the idol of the nation had deſigned him in the ſenate by the appellation of *Heaven born general*. He might have ſaid with more propriety, that war had been the gainful trade of this favourite ſon of Plutus.

Though he aſpired to the Engliſh peerage, his wealth and the influence it always gives could not raiſe him to a dignity generally conferred upon commoners who have filled ſome important poſts in the adminiſtration, and have at leaſt family connections to plead inſtead of merit. He had at laſt the modeſty to ſolicit Iriſh honours, which his Sovereign was moſt graciouſly pleaſed to beſtow upen him in 1762, by the ſtile and title of Baron Plaſſey, in memory of that famous battle, which gained him reputation, applauſe, wealth, cenſure and diſgrace,

It was calculated that the company's ſervants had brought into England near ſix millions of treaſure and jewels, ſince the common cement of hoſtilities in India; how this wealth was acquired will be ſeen in the ſequel of this work.

In the year 1762, a plan of attack was formed at Madraſs, againſt the Philippine iſlands ſituated in the Indian ocean. Manilla a conſiderable city, in Luconia the largeſt of them, is the centre of the Spaniſh trade, from whence two large ſhips are ſent annually acroſs the vaſt pacific ocean to Acapulco on the coaſt of Mexico, laden with the

ſpices,

ſpices, ſtuffs, jewels, and other rich merchandize of India. This plan was executed by part of the ſquadron of Vice Admiral Corniſh, and a few battalions under the command of Brigadier general Draper, who had ſignalized himſelf in the defence of Madraſs, when it was beſieged by the enemy. The troops alloted for this expedition conſiſted of one regiment, with a company of the royal artillery; and theſe were by the governor of Madraſs, reinforced with ſome able officers, about thirty men of the company's artillery, five hundred ſea-poys, one company of Caffres, one of topazes, one of pioneers, two companies of French deſerters, with a few hundred of laſcars, for the uſe of the engineers, and the park of artillery. Vice Admiral Corniſh, ſupplied a ſtrong battalion of ſeamen and marines; ſo that the whole force amounted to 2,300 effective men, with which it was reſolved to make an attempt upon the flouriſhing, extenſive and populous city of Manilla. Major general Laurence, who commanded the forces of the Eaſt India company at Madraſs, was of opinion, that the ſettlement would be in danger, ſhould a greater number of troops be drawn from the coaſt, and therefore the two battalions of the company's troops, the whole cavalry, 6000 ſea-poys, with part of Monſon's regiment, and the Highlanders, were left for their ſecurity. At the ſame time orders were left for three ſhips of war which they hourly expected at Madraſs, to remain on that part of the coaſt for the protection of the commerce.

The Falmouth was left at the requeſt of the preſident and council of Madraſs, to convoy the

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Eſſex India ſhip, which had on board the treaſure for the China cargoes; but ſhe arrived time enough to have her ſhare in the expedition to the Philippine iſles.

The officers ſubordinate to brigadier-general Draper, were the lieutenant-colonels Monſon and Scot; major Barker commanded the artillery and major More, Mr. Drake and ſome other individuals in the Eaſt India company's ſervice, were appointed to take care of the company's intereſts, according to the convention made with the preſident and council at Madraſs, relating to the ſucceſs of the expedition. General Draper animated the troops with his uſual gallantry and conduct, indeed every captain and officer, whether by land or water, exerted himſelf with uncommon diligence and reſolution. The greateſt harmony ſubſiſted between the commanders, officers and men, in the different departments of the ſervice; and the ſoldiers and ſeamen vied with each other in expreſſions of mutual good will, as well as in feats of valour and activity. The general diſembarked his troops without the loſs of one man, on the 29th of September, about two miles to the ſouthward of Manilla, in ſpite of the enemy who had aſſembled in great numbers, both horſe and infantry to oppoſe the deſcent, the captains King, Grant and Peighin, who commanded the covering frigates maintained ſuch a warm fire of cannon to the right and left, that they ſoon diſperſed. In the mean while the Spaniſh garriſon were employed in burning the ſuburbs of Manilla. Next day the general took poſſeſſion of the Polvariſta, a ſmall fort which the enemy had abandoned, and which proved

proved an excellent place of arms for covering the landing of the ſtores and artillery. The head quarters were fixed in the curate's houſe, and ſecured by the ſeventy-ninth regiment, of which Mr. Draper himſelf was colonel, as a poſt of the utmoſt importance, both from its ſtrength and the commodious cover it afforded from the rains which had deluged the country, and rendered it impoſſible to encamp.

The governor having been twice ſummoned to ſurrender, returned a reſolute refuſal, as he thought he had but little to apprehend from an handful of enemies, who far from being in a condition to inveſt the city on all ſides, were obliged to confine their operations in one corner, having two thirds of it open to all manner of ſupplies. The front which the general reſolved to attack was defended by two baſtions in good order, mounted with a great number of fine braſs cannon; a ravelin which covered the royal gate, a wet ditch, a covered way and a glacis. Several mortars bombarded the town without ceaſing; the artillery was ſo well ſerved and the fire ſo well directed by the conduct and ſkill of Major Barker, that in a few hours twelve pieces of cannon mounted on the face of a baſtion, were totally ſilenced, and the enemy obliged to retire.

On the fourth of October, the cantonment of the ſeamen was attacked about three hours before day by a ſtrong body of Indians, encouraged to this attempt by the inceſſant rains which they hoped had rendered the fire arms unſerviceable. The alarm was no ſooner given than colonel Monſon and captain Fletcher advanced with the picquets to the aſſiſtance of the ſeamen. The aſſailants

though armed chiefly with bows and lances, advanced in the moſt reſolute manner to the attack, and fought with incredible ferocity; when repulſed, returned with redoubled fury to the very muzzles of the Engliſh muſquets, and died like wild beaſts knawing their bayonets; at day break they gave way and fled with great precipitation, having loſt 300 men in their attack and retreat. The Engliſh ſoldiers though expoſed without the leaſt cover to the fire and miſſiles of another body of Indians, reinforced by Spaniſh troops, maintained their poſt, without flinching, and after a warm conteſt, diſlodged the enemy, by the aſſiſtance of ſome field pieces and the reſolute conduct of major Fell, captain Fletcher and other gallant officers ſent to their relief. Captain Strahan of the ſeventy-eight regiment and lieutenant Porter of the Norfolk, two gallant officers, loſt their lives in this furious onſet, and fell univerſally regretted.

This was the enemy's laſt effort; the greater part of the Indians more warlike than upon the coaſt of Coromandel, leſs civilized and more inhuman, diſcouraged by repeated defeats, returned to their own habitations; the fire from the garriſon grew faint; and all their defences appeared to be in a ruinous condition. On the fifth the fire of the beſiegers was ſo well directed, that the breach became practicable; and it was hoped the garriſon would demand a capitulation; but they ſeemed to be obſtinate and ſullen, without courage or activity. They neglected all means of obtaining favourable terms without having taken the reſolution to defend the breach, ſo that the Engliſh general made a diſpoſition for ſtorming the town; mean

mean while major Barker maintained a close fire upon the works of the enemy, and those places where they might be lodged or intrenched, the mortars co-operating in the same service.

The British troops directed by the signal of a general discharge from the artillery and mortars, rushed on to the assault, under cover of the thick smoke which blew directly on the town. Lieutenant Russel, at the head of sixty volunteers led the way, being supported by the grenadiers of the ninteenth regiment, to which he belonged. Colonel Morrson and major More headed two grand divisions of the seventy-ninth regiment; the troops of the East India company formed the rear. According to colonel Draper's account the total of the troops with which he entered Manilla, amounted to little more than 2000, a motley composition of seamen, soldiers, seapoys, caffaes, lascars, topasees, French and German deserters; these assailants mounted the breach with incredible courage and rapidity: while the Spaniards on the bastion retired so suddenly, that it was imagined they depended entirely on their mines. Captain Stephenson was immediately ordered to examine the ground; but this precaution was needless, the English troops penetrated into the town with very little opposition, except at the royal gate, where there was a guard house defended by one hundred Spaniards and Indians, who refusing to surrender were put to the sword. They were likewise considerably galled with shot from the galleries of lofty houses, by which the great square was surrounded. The governor who was the archbishop and stiled himself captain general of the Philippine

pine iſlands with the principal magiſtrates retired into the citadel. Colonel Draper having no offer of capitulation or ſurrender made him, could not prevent his troops for ſome hours, from making the city feel all the rapaciouſneſs to which a place taken by ſtorm is ſubjected from the ſoldiery; thoſe who commanded, excepting the few regulars among them, were of the moſt unruly kind. At laſt the citadel being in no condition of defence, the archbiſhop and the magiſtrates ſurrendered themſelves priſoners at diſcretion; and it was immediately occupied by captain Dupont, with one hundred men of the ſeventy-ninth regiment. The Marquis de Villa Medina, a Brigadier general, who commanded the garriſon amounting to eight hundred men of the royal regiment, had been reinforced with a body of ten thouſand Indians, from the province of Pumpanga, a fierce and ſavage nation, who tho' unacquainted with the uſe of fire-arms, manage their bows and arrows with great dexterity, and are very formidable from their intrepidity and contempt of death. The marquis with the reſt of the Spaniſh officers were admitted as priſoners of war, on their parole of honour; and all the Indians were diſmiſſed in ſafety. The ſucceſs of the victors was the more agreeable, as it was obtained with very little bloodſhed; their loſs did not exceed one hundred men, though this was embittered by the death of major More, who fell transfixed with an arrow near the royal gate.

Lieutenant Friar, a young officer, brave, polite and generous, had been murdered in cold blood at the beginning of the ſiege, by the ſavages, without reſpecting the law of nations, or

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the ſacred character of an officer, under the protection of a flag of truce.

Manilla was no ſooner poſſeſſed by the Britiſh forces, than the admiral went on ſhore to conſult with general Draper on this great event, and to ſettle a capitulation. This was found to be a matter of conſiderable difficulty. When the Archbiſhop and Magiſtrates appeared, the two Engliſh commanders humanely told them, they were ready to ſettle a capitulation to ſave ſo fine a city from deſtruction; and deſired them to conſult and propoſe ſuch terms of compenſation as might ſatisfy the fleet and army: and exempt them from pillage and its fatal conſequences. They brought a draught of terms in the name of the Archbiſhop, the Royal Audience, and the city and commerce of Manilla, which were ſo unſuitable to their deſperate ſituation, that they were rejected as unſatisfactory and inadmiſſible; becauſe they made no mention of a compenſation to the victors, for ſaving the place from utter deſtruction. The Engliſh commanders then took the pen and dictated the conditions, on which the city of Manilla ſhould be preſerved from plunder, and the inhabitants maintained in their religious liberties and properties, under the goverment and protection of his Britannic Majeſty. The Spaniards conſented to the terms of the ranſom, which was ſtipulated at four millions of dollars, for the city of Manilla, and the effects of the inhabitants. In conſequence of this capitulation the town and port of Cavite, with the iſlands and forts depending upon Manilla, were ſurrendered to the Bri-

Britiſh troops, together with ſeveral large ſhips, and a vaſt quantity of warlike and naval ſtores. Captain Kempenfelt of the navy was appointed governor of the place by a commiſſion from the General. One third of the ranſom of the Manilla, was allowed to the Eaſt India company; and Mr. Draper according to the inſtructions he had received, delivered up the city of Manilla, the port of Caville, with all their artillery, ammunition and warlike ſtores to Dawſon Drake, Eſq; and other perſons appointed to receive them in behalf of the company.

Commodore Tiddeman, a brave and experienced officer, in attempting to enter the river in his barge on the morning that ſucceeded the reduction of the place was unfortunately drowned with five of his people.

The Spaniards raiſed afterwards diſputes concerning the performance of the capitulation. "The deſtruction (ſaid colonel Draper in a letter) that we could have occaſioned, would have trebled the loſs ye ſuffer by the payment of the ranſom. The rich churches and convents, the King of Spain's own palace, with its ſuperb and coſtly furniture, the magnificent buildings of every ſort, the fortifications, the docks, magazines, founderies, cannon; and in ſhort, the whole might have been entirely ruined, the Spaniſh empire in Aſia ſubverted, and the fruits of their religious miſſions loſt for ever, together with the lives of many of the inhabitants."

At no period of time had the Spaniſh monarchy ſuffered ſuch grievous and mortifying diſ-

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aſters as thoſe ſhe ſuſtained in the courſe of this year, from a war into which ſhe was precipitately plunged, againſt all the dictates of ſound policy and caution, meerly to gratify the private inclinations of her Sovereign. The Spaniards have reaped nothing but damage and diſgrace from all their conteſts with England, many of which they have proſecuted with an illiberal ſpirit of gothic cruelty and religious rancour. It will be for their intereſt to avoid the reſentment of Great Britain, as a ſtorm big with ruin to their commerce, and their colonies, from whence the importance of their nation, and the chief ſupport of their monarchy are derived.

When the negotiation for the late peace was ſet on foot, the Eaſt India company was applied to by the King's ſervants, to know how they would have the affairs in the Eaſt Indies ſettled; they drew the tenth article in the preliminaries; it was ſigned by Mr. Rous, their chairman, ſent to his Majeſty's miniſter, and by him tranſmitted to the Duke of Bedford at Paris, which article was tranſcribed into the preliminaries, verbatim, as it came from the Eaſt India company, and the preliminaries were deferred ſigning forty-eight hours, (as an honourable member of the houſe declared,) waiting for that article.

The eleventh article of the definitive treaty of peace, ſigned at Paris the 10th day of February, 1763, is as follows: "In the Eaſt Indies Great Britain ſhall reſtore to France, in the condition they are now in, the different factories which that crown poſſeſſed, as well as on the coaſt of Coromandel and Oriza, as on that of Malabar

bar, as alſo in Bengal at the beginning of the year 1749, and his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty renounces all pretenſions to the acquiſition which he had made on the coaſt of Coromandel and Orixa, ſince the ſaid beginning of the year 1749. His moſt Chriſtian Majeſty ſhall reſtore on his ſide, all that he may have conquered from Great Britain, in the Eaſt Indies, during the preſent war; and will expreſſly cauſe Nattal and Tapenoully in the iſland of Sumatra, to be reſtored; he engages farther not to erect fortifications, or to keep troops, in any part of the dominions of the Subah of Bengal.

And in order to preſerve future peace on the coaſt of Coromandel and Orixa, the Engliſh and French ſhall acknowledge Mahomet Ali Khan for lawful Nabob of the Carnatic, and Selabat Jing for the lawful Subah of the Decan, and both parties ſhall renounce all demands and pretenſions of ſatisfaction, with which they might charge each other, or their Indian allies, for their depredations and pillage, committed on the one ſide or the other during the war.

Declaration of his Britannic Majeſty's ambaſſador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the court of France, with regard to the limits of Bengal in the Eaſt Indies.

" We the underwritten ambaſſador, &c. to " prevent all ſubjects of diſpute on account of " the limits of the Subah of Bengal, as well as " of the coaſt of Coromandel and Orixa, de- " clare in the name and by order of his Britannic " Majeſty, that the ſaid dominions of the Su- " bab of Bengal, ſhall be reputed not to ex-

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"tend farther than Yanaon, excluſively, and "that Yanaon ſhall be conſidered as included "in the north part of the coaſt of Coromandel "or Orixa. In witneſs whereof, &c.

BEDFORD, C. P. S.
C. L. S. O."

Done at Paris the 10th
of February 1763.

The affairs of the Eaſt India company began now more than ever to engroſs the attention of the public, and two parties were formed, ſaid to be of very different intereſts. Lord Clive headed the one, and Mr. Sullivan, a director of great abilities and eminence, the other. Mr. Rous was the chairman, whoſe intereſt Lord Clive eſpouſed; he was accuſed by the other party of a dangerous inattention to the intereſts of the company, during the late negociations for peace. At a meeting held the middle of March, a motion was made by Lord Clive's influence, for giving Mr. Rous thanks for his prudent management and attention to the intereſts of the company, in the late negociations for a peace with France; and after a long and warm debate, the queſtion was carried in the affirmative. As this court conſiſted of above ſix hundred and fifty members, the fulleſt ever known, it was conſidered as a prelude to affairs of more importance; but it appeared during the courſe of the following month, that the intereſt of the noble candidate for a ſeat in the direction was inferior to that of his antagoniſt. So much the high opinion of Lord Clive's ſervices to the company, was diminiſhed,

by a mere accurate knowledge of his foreign tranſactions. An unexpected revolution in the company's affairs abroad, ſoon turned the ſcale.

The vaſt ſucceſs of the Engliſh in the Eaſt Indies rendered the affairs of that country very intereſting to the people of Great Britain. It has been mentioned that Jaffier Ali Khan, who was raiſed to the Nabob ſhip of Bengal, had been depoſed for his cruelty and mal-adminiſtration, by the influence and addreſs of the Engliſh preſident Vanſittart, and that his ſon-in-law, Coſſim Ali Khan, had ſucceeded him as Subah of the Carnatic, and had confirmed and augmented the privileges of the Engliſh company in the Eaſt Indies. The cauſes of that extraordinary revolution appeared to have been chiefly owing to the jealouſy which the Engliſh Eaſt India company's ſervants there entertained that Mhir Jaffier endeavoured to render himſelf independent of the company, by aſſaſſinating or baniſhing from his court, all perſons of any figure or conſequence who were known to favour the Engliſh. He was ſuſpected of having entered into meaſures with the Dutch, for calling them in to his aſſiſtance, againſt the power and influence of the Engliſh in the country, and of his having offered to ſacrifice the company's ſervants and intereſts to Shah Zaddah, who pretended to be the true heir to the Mogul empire.

In ſhort, it was pretended, that by a ſeries of cruelties and oppreſſions of various kinds, he had rendered it ſcandalous for the Engliſh to ſupport his tyrannic government any longer, having brought the company's and his own af-

affairs to the very brink of ruin. Such was the charge that was brought againſt this Nabob, by Mr. Vanſittart, Mr. Holwell, and other ſervants of the Eaſt India company in Bengal. Other gentlemen in the ſame ſervice repreſented matters in a different light, which makes it neceſſary here to ſtate more particularly the facts, that preceded the depoſition of Mhir Jaffier.

Shah Zaddah in right of his Mogul's dignity, claimed all the original powers, exerciſed by the Emperors of Indoſtan, or India, previous to the invaſion of that empire by Nadir Shah, and we have already recounted the defeat he ſuffered by the Engliſh Eaſt India company's forces under Major Carnac.

It ſeems to be certain, that the death of Mhir Jaffier's ſon, who is ſaid to have been killed in his tent by lightening, had made a ſtrong impreſſion upon the father, who was daily apprehenſive of conſpiracies againſt himſelf, as he had no ſon to ſucceed him. Jealouſy and dread is the governing principle of theſe eaſtern courts. A legal trial is ſeldom or ever granted; to be ſuſpected, is to be guilty, and the moſt involuntary connections are admitted as evidences of treaſon. In conſequence of theſe deteſtable maxims, Mhir Jaffier had put to death ſome of the late Surajah Dowla's family and friends; and it is very poſſible that he might have wiſhed not to have been ſo entirely dependent, as he was, upon the Engliſh, who might have received ſome counterbalance, from a partial admiſſion of the Dutch into his government. It is however certain, that no part of his conduct gave

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unqueſtionable grounds for this ſurmiſe; becauſe, after the Dutch made ſuch an attempt he ſent troops to the aſſiſtance of the Engliſh, and, had the latter conſented, he would have put them all to the ſword.

Another article urged againſt Mhir Jaffier, was his having obſtructed the currency of the Engliſh Calcutta coin; but from this charge his friends endeavoured to clear him, by alledging, that this ſtoppage was owing to the bankers, whoſe practices he could not controul, while Shah Zaddah was maſter of the ſouthern provinces, and by encouraging the tributary Rajahs to rebel, cut off all the reſources on which Mhir-Jaffier depended, for ſatisfying the demands of the Engliſh, who became every day more and more clamorous. Such was the ſtate of affairs, when Mr. Holwell reſigned the preſidentſhip and government of Fort William to Mr. Vanſittart in Auguſt 1760, and at the ſame time remonſtrated to his ſucceſſor the neceſſity of depoſing Mhir Jaffier, for the cauſe above-mentioned, and many others, which rendered that Nabob the object of public horror and deteſtation; but the conduct of the two Engliſh chiefs, if the unpopularity of Mhir Jaffier is ſo great is pretty unaccountable, for inſtead of declaring openly againſt him, they laid a deep and indeed an artful train for his ruin. Mr. Holwell, it ſeems had for ſome time kept up a correſpondence with Coſſim Ali Khan, Mhir Jaffier's ſon-in-law, who had made ſuch propoſition of advantage for the company, that he was conſidered as a proper perſon to ſucceed Mhir Jaffier, if the latter was depoſed.

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Coſſim at this time had the confidence of his father-in-law, whom he perſuaded to ſend him, under pretence of concerting the operations of the approaching campaign, to Calcutta, where the meaſures were concerted for depoſing Mhir Jaffier, or rather of depriving him of all power in the government; it was agreed, "That he ſhould "maintain his dignity; that affairs ſhould be tran-"ſacted in his name, and that he ſhould have "an allowance to ſupport him; that Coſſim ſhould "conduct all the public affairs of the Subaſhip, "and be named his ſucceſſor, and live in per-"petual alliance with the Engliſh factory. "The Engliſh ſeapoys were to be always "ready to aſſiſt him, and the revenues of "the three provinces of Burdwan, Midnapor, "and Chittagong, were to be aſſigned to the "Engliſh."

Such were the principal articles of this clandeſtine treaty, by which a great Prince (for ſuch Mhir Jaffier was) without his own knowledge, was to be ſtripped of his power. We do not find any proceſs or proofs, that could ground the legality of this proceeding; but Governor Vanſittart in perſon took upon him the execution, and under pretence of a viſit, he went up to Marſhedabad, the place of the Subah's reſidence, and carried with him three letters, which he delivered himſelf, being attended by colonel Maitland, who had ſucceeded colonel Clive, in the command of the troops with two hundred Europeans, and a party of ſeapoys, under pretence of reinforcing the army at Patna. Mr. Vanſittart at the

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ſecond viſit paid him by the Nabob, produced the letters. They firſt charged him with the non-payment of the Engliſh troops, and the great diſorders of his government, to the apparent ruin of his affairs. The ſecond letter related to the affairs of Patna; and the third mentioned certain articles to which he was required to ſubmit, together with a requiſition of lands, for the payment of the Engliſh troops, under the pain of his being forced to comply.

It was no wonder if Mhir Jaffier was alarmed even to a ſtate of diſtraction at theſe peremptory demands; he lamented the death of his ſon, which he ſaid, had impaired his underſtanding, and deſired ſome time to conſult with his friends, which the governor was unwilling to grant, but preſſed him to name ſome one of his relations, plainly enough pointing out Coſſim for the management of his affairs. Coſſim was mentioned and ſent for, but with a viſible reluctance on the part of the Nabob, which determined Vanſitart to employ force. Coſſim being unwilling to come to the conference, occaſioned ſuch a delay that Mr. Vanſitart to ſave appearances, was obliged to ſuffer Mhir Jaffier to return that night to his palace. Coſſim and the governor conſulted together that night and all the next day, and the Engliſh troops under colonel Caillaud, clandeſtinely paſſed the river, and in conjunction with a party raiſed by Coſſim, ſurrounded the palace; a letter was ſent to the Nabob, deſiring his immediate compliance, and diſpoſitions were made for ſeizing his miniſters. Mhir Jaffier could do nothing, but complain in the moſt pathetic terms

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of the treatment he met with from the Engliſh, whom he accuſed of perjury and breach of faith; but at laſt recollecting that he had ſworn to be for ever their friend, he dropt all the thoughts of reſentment, and offered, rather than continue under the power of his ſon-in-law, to reſign the Subaſhip, provided he could be aſſured of a ſafe retreat in Calcutta, with an allowance for his maintenance. This propoſition which was conſtrued into a voluntary reſignation, was inſtantly agreed to, and Coſſim proclaimed Nabob, to the apparent ſatisfaction of the people. Mhir Jaffier was hurried into a boat, and ſent to Calcutta, with ſome of his women, and an attendance, no way ſuited to his dignity. A guard of Engliſh was appointed him, by way of convoy to Calcutta.

The ſecret committee of the Engliſh counſel there had approved of Coſſim's being appointed ſole miniſter to Mhir Jaffier, and he began his government with a vigour unuſual among the eaſtern princes, which ought to have alarmed our factory. The Shah Zaddah was defeated by the aſſiſtance of the Engliſh, and the rebellious Rajahs were reduced. Coſſim prevailed with the Engliſh to ſacrifice to him Ramnaran, the deputy Nabob of the province, of whom he was jealous, but who was the beſt friend the Engliſh had in Bengal. He then began to give ſtrong indications of his intending to be quite independant of the Engliſh. He diſciplined his troops in the European manner, he was even furniſhed with ſome heavy artillery by Mr. Vanſittart, and provided a train from other quarters, which gave his troops the appearance of a diſciplined army; he took ſome French into his pay;

pay; he engaged ſome of the Engliſh ſeapoys, and their officers to ſerve him, and not being fond of the neighbourhood of the factory, he retired from his capital, to a ſtrong fort three hundred miles diſtant from Calcutta.

Coſſim ſoon convinced the Engliſh of their miſtaken politics in raiſing him to the nabobſhip. He made a diſtinction between the trade of the company, as founded upon their rights, and the commerce of their ſervants, who under pretence of a free trade, lent their names to Indian inland ſmugglers, ſo much to the prejudice of the revenue, that he complained, if the practice was continued, he ſhould be unable to diſcharge his engagements with the Engliſh. It happened that this laſt complaint agreed exactly with the inſtructions which Mr. Vanſitart had received from the Eaſt India Directors in England, for diſcouraging all the fraudulent trade of their ſervants, as being of the utmoſt prejudice to the company's intereſt. Coſſim ſupporting his demands with great firmneſs, Mr. Vanſitart payed him a viſit to ſettle all differences, eſpecially that relating to the inland trade, carried on by the company's ſervants. To this trade it was owing that ſo many great fortunes were made in the Eaſt Indies by the Britiſh ſubjects, who could not otherwiſe ſubſiſted on the ſcanty allowance of the company. The ſweets of this trade had been but lately diſcovered by the directors, who perhaps were not diſpleaſed that in ſome inſtances Coſſim checked it by force. Mr. Vanſitart on his arrival at the nabob's court, concluded a treaty with him, one of the articles of which, ſubjected the company's ſervants

to

to the judges of the Nabobs courts, in inland places. This treaty was no ſooner communicated to the board at Calcutta, than the reſident members there, ſent for all the chiefs of the out-factories, who had ſeats at the board, and the treaty was diſapproved of; a deputation was voted to be ſent to the nabob for better terms conſiſting of Mr. Amyat, the ſecond Mr. Hay, and ſome other gentlemen of the council; but in the mean time they ſent a letter to Mr. Vanſitart, (which he ſaid he never received) reſpecting the treaty.

Upon the arrival of Mr. Amyat and his companions at Mongheer, Coſſim, who had by this time fortified Patna, and filled his treaſury, inſiſted upon the validity of the treaty he had made with Vanſitart. He had given orders for ſtopping the Engliſh goods at all his cuſtom-houſes, till they paid the duties ſtipulated by the new treaty, and which were more than double what they were before. He had procured from Mr. Vanſitart a letter of the utmoſt importance to his intereſt, containing the chief heads of the treaty, and he ſent copies of it to all the officers of his revenue, with orders to conform themſelves to its terms, which were agreeable to the following letter:

"Your gracious Perwennah is arrived, and "has greatly honoured me. I am informed of "all the particulars of your high commands. "It ſhall be delivered to the chiefs of our fac- "tories, that they are to give a power for the "buying and ſelling of ſhip-merchandize, and "merchandize that they buy and ſell; in every

" diſtrict for traffic in this country, they are to
" do according to the cuſtom of other traders and
" merchants, and not to give company's duſtuck.
" They paying in upon the coaſt of the mer-
" chandize nine per cent. including wharfs and
" other receipts of cuſtom; nor ſhall they uſe
" any manner of force or violence, extenſion or
" unfair dealings "

The Engliſh factory at Decca, complained to the council at Calcutta, that they muſt be abſolutely undone, if the treaty was carried into execution. The council voted it to be diſhonourable, diſadvantageous and a breach of their privileges. But all this made no impreſſion on Coſſim, who diſmiſſed the deputation from his court with a negative, and ordered ſome boats with arms belonging to the Engliſh to be ſeized near Patna, for the non-payment of the new duties.

Such was the ſtate of affairs on the 24th of June 1763. When Mr. Amyat and his companions, who were Meſſrs. Amphlet, Wollaſton, and Hutchinſon. Lieutenant Jones, Gordon and Coope, Doctor Crooke, and Meſſieurs Hay and Gulſton remaining with the Nabob as hoſtages took their leave of Coſſim Alli, with the uſual paſſports, and ſet out in boats for Calcutta. In paſſing by the city of Marſhedabad, they were attacked by a party of the Nabob's troops on both ſides of the river; and ſome of the Engliſh were killed in their boats. Mr. Amyat, with a few ſeapoys whom he forbade to fire, landed and endeavoured to make the Indians ſenſible that they were furniſhed with the Nabob's paſſport.

While

While this tragedy was acting, Mr. Ellis the Engliſh chief at Patna, with the conſent of capt. Carſtairs, the military commander there, on the 25th of June attacked and took the city of Patna of which they were in poſſeſſion for four hours, having driven out the Mooriſh or Indian governor and his garriſon; but the latter underſtanding at Futwa where he had fled, that the Engliſh and their ſeapoys were intent on plundering, returned and ſoon retook the city. From whence in their turn they drove the Engliſh who croſſed the river and proceeded towards Surajah Dowla's country. While they were on their march the firſt of July, they were attacked by a large body of the natives, which they routed at firſt, but being joined by four or five hundred ſeapoys from Bugemore, they defeated the Engliſh, killed about fifty of them with eight or nine officers, among whom was captain Carſtairs. Next day Mr. Ellis and all the remainder of his party were made priſoners, and ſome of them ſent to Patna, but Mr. Ellis with the greateſt part to Mongheer.

In the mean time, Mr. Vanſitart at Calcutta, very candidly acknowledged the neceſſity of breaking the late treaty, the meaning of which had been ſo cruelly perverted by Coſſim. In conſequence of which a reſolution was taken to declare war againſt him and to reſtore Mhir Jaffier to the Subaſhip obliging him firſt to enter into the following advantageous treaty with the company.

1. The

1. The treaty which I formerly concluded with the company upon my acceſſion to the nizamut (government) engaging to regard the honour and reputation of the company, the governor and council as my own, granting orders for the currences of the companies trade; the ſame treaty I now confirm and ratify.

2. I do grant and confirm to the company, for defraying the expences of their troops, the chauklehs (juriſdictions) of Burdware, Midnapoor, and Chittagong, which were before ceded for the ſame purpoſe.

3. I do notify and confirm to the *Engliſh*, the privilege granted them by their firmaund (a patent ſigned by the Mogul) and ſeveral huſbull-hookums, a patent ſigned by the Vizier) of carrying on their trade, by means of their own duſtucks (orders) free from all duties, taxes and impoſitions, in all parts of the country, excepting the article of ſalt, on which a duty of two and a half per cent. is to be levied on the rewana(ſtated) market price.

4. I give to the company half the ſalt petre which is produced in the country of Purnea, which their gomaſtahs (factors) ſhall ſend to Calcutta, the other half ſhall be collected by my phouſdar (renter for the uſe of my officers; and I will ſuffer no other perſons to make purchaſes of this artitle in that country.

5 In the Chuckleh of Silet for the ſpace of five years, commencing with the Bengal year 1170 my phouſdar and the company's gomaſtah ſhall jointly prepare chunam (ime) of which each ſhall defray all the expences, and half the chunam ſo made ſhall be given to the company, and the other half ſhall be for my uſe.

6. I will maintain twelve thouſand horſe and twelve thouſand foot, in the three provinces; if there ſhould be occaſion for more, the number ſhall be increaſed by the conſent of the governor and council, proportionably to the emergency; beſides, the forces of the Engliſh company ſhall always attend me when wanted.

7. Where ever I ſhall fix my court, either at Moorſhebadad, or elſewhere, I will adviſe the governor and council; and whatever number of Engliſh forces I may have occaſion for in the management of my affairs, I will demand them and they ſhall be allowed me; and an Engliſh gentleman ſhall reſide with me to tranſact all affairs between me and the company; and a perſon ſhall alſo reſide on my part at Calcutta, to negotiate with the governor and council.

8. The late perwannahs, (orders) iſſued by Coſſim Ali Khan, granting to all merchants the exemption of all duties for the ſpace of two years, ſhall be reverſed and called in, and the duties collected as before.

9. I will cauſe the rupies coined in Calcutta, to paſs reſpect equal to the ſiccas (pieces of the pureſt gold) of Moorſhedabad, without any deduction of batta (an extraordinary allowance to the army when in the field, or in a garriſon where proviſions are cheap) and whoever ſhall demand batta ſhall be puniſhed.

10. I will give thirty lack of rupees (about three hundred and ſeventy-ſix thouſand pounds) to defray all the expences and loſs accruing to the company from the war, and ſtoppage of their inveſtment; and I will reimburſe to all private perſons the amount of ſuch loſſes, proved before the governor and council, as they may ſuſtain in their trade in the country: if I ſhall not be able to diſcharge this in ready money, I will give aſſignments of lands for the amount.

11. I will confirm and renew the treaty which I formerly made with the Dutch.

If the French come into the country, I will not allow them to erect any fortifications, maintain forts, or hold lands, zemindaries, (freeholds) &c. but they ſhall pay tribute and carry on their trade as in former times.

13. Some regulations ſhall be hereafter ſettled between us for deciding all diſputes, which may ariſe between the Engliſh gomaſtahs and my officers, in the different parts of the country. This treaty was ſolemly ſigned and ſealed at Fort William on the tenth of July.

Major

Major Adams who then commanded the company's troops, took the field and in a few days was joined by Mhir Jaffier. They directed their march towards Morſhedabad; and on the 19th of July, came up with a party of the enemy, whom they defeated with an inconſiderable loſs, and killed Mahomed Tuckey Cawn, who commanded the party that had ſlaughtered Mr. Amyat aud his companions. At the ſame time a detached party under captain Long made themſelves maſters of the fort of Cutwa, with all the enemy's artillery there and in the field; and on the 24th, after a trifling oppoſition, they entered the important city of Morſhedabad, where Mhir Jaffier was proclaimed Subah. The company's troops refreſhed themſelves here for ſome days, and reſuming their march, they were oppoſed at the head of Coſſim Buzan river, by a large body of Coſſim's beſt troops and artillery. An engagement followed, in which it ſoon appeared, by the firm ſtand which the natives made, that they had been improved in their diſcipline; but after a long diſpute, they were totally defeated. The loſs of the Engliſh conſiſted of five officers, forty Europeans, and above three hundred ſeapoys and black horſe killed and wounded. The enemy's loſs was very conſiderable; twenty-three pieces of cannon fell into the hands of the Engliſh, with one hundred and fifty boats, among which were thoſe they had taken at Patna, laden with military and other ſtores; the major then advanced to Rajamant, near which he forced a ſtrong entrenchment of the enemy, and thereby deprived them of all their ſupplies of pro-

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viſions from Bengal, which he entirely ſecured to the company, who thought the fate of the war would be entirely decided by this campaign,

In all theſe operations, major Carnac, who had been diſplaced from his command, for his oppoſition to Mr. Vanſitart, diſtinguiſhed himſelf with great gallantry and good conduct, which major Adams ſo warmly and generouſly repreſented to the company, that they reſtored him to his command of their forces at Bengal. Major Adams on the 11th of October, completed the campaign by the reduction of Mongheer, without the loſs of a man. It was remarkable that Coſſim's artillery was mounted in the Engliſh manner and ſerved by two hundred Europeans, who had been taken at Patna (but none of them Engliſh, for they had refuſed to enter in his ſervice), and were kept priſoners at Mongheer.

His ſeapoys were armed and cloathed in the Engliſh manner, and divided into brigades, their ſkill in chuſing their ground was greater than ever had been before known in the Eaſt Indies; and it was believed by major Adams, that the Armenians and ſome Europeans were principally inſtrumental in reducing his troops to diſcipline.

From what has been premiſed, the reader muſt have a contemptible idea of Indian fortifications, as their ſtrongeſt towns and entrenchments, tho' guarded by numerous armies, were ſo eaſily reduced by a handful of men, commanded by major Adams. Upon the reduction of Mongheer, he ſent a detachment under captain Wedderburn, towards Patna, to which Coſſim had retired, with orders

orders to block up that place and to inform the Engliſh priſoners there of his approach. He effectually executed the firſt part of his commiſſion; but was prevented from diſcharging the ſecond by the barbarity of Coſſim. This tyrant employed one Somers, a German ruffian, who had entered into his ſervice to maſſacre the Engliſh priſoners; the latter ſo little expected ſuch a fate, that upon Somers's arrival with ſome ſea-poys he commanded, they prepared to receive him as a companion. The barbarian on pretence of inviting them to ſupper, borrowed all their knives and forks, and ſending for Meſſrs. Ellis and Luſhington, he and his aſſaſſins immediately diſpatched them, but not before the latter had killed one and wounded two of the murderers. Meſſrs. Chambers, Aphlett, and Gulſton, who were next ſent for, underwent the ſame fate; but one Mr. Smith, eſcaping with a wound, back to the room, alarmed the reſt of the gentlemen, who defended themſelves for ſome time bravely with their plates and bottles; but the aſſaſſins diſcharching their pieces, ſhot them all dead. The numbers maſſacred in that houſe were forty nine gentlemen, of whom twenty five were in irons; fifty ſoldiers, who were in irons likewiſe, were maſſacred at the ſame time, as were nine other gentlemen, and the remainder of the Engliſh priſoners, amounting in the whole to two hundred in different parts of the country. This maſſacre was ſo barbarous, that it was reluctantly performed by the ſea-poys, who deſired Somer's to give the priſoners arms, and that they would fight them, alledging that it was unfair to kill them in ſo cowardly a manner; but the ruffian ſtruck ſe-

veral of them down with bamboos, and was ſo cruel as to put to death a child of Mr. Ellis; one Fullerton a phyſician, was the only one perſon who eſcaped from Patna, having, a few days before received a pardon from Coſſim.

That tyrant extended his cruelty to all the natives who were thought to be in the Engliſh intereſt, he put to death the famous banker, Tagulpat, and his brother, with Ramnanan, whom he had kept in captivity, with about twenty eight others, and left their bodies to be devoured by birds and beaſts, the moſt exquiſite puniſhment that a ſuperſtitious Eaſt Indian can deviſe to a departed ſpirit. Major Adams found large magazines of ammunition and grain in Mongheer, and after making the neceſſary diſpoſitions, he proceeded againſt Patna, which was garriſoned by ten thouſand men, left by Coſſim, who retired to the weſtward. He ordered however a party of horſe to harraſs the Engliſh in their march; but without any effect, for major Adams arrived within two miles of Patna where he took up a ſtrong poſt, and prepared to form a regular ſiege. His manoeuvres were interrupted by a ſtrong detachment of the enemy's ſeapoys, who with ſome difficulty, were beaten off, but not before they had blown up a principal magazine, the property of the Engliſh; three boats belonging to the company, laden with ammunition, were loſt at the ſame time by a violent guſt of wind. The ſiege however went on, though with great difficulty; the enemy made an obſtinate defence, by which many of the Engliſh officers were wounded, but the city was at laſt carried, and Coſſim retired precipitately to Saſſerum, from whence

whence he proceeded with all his treaſure, and valuable effects to the confines of Sujahal Dowlah's country, where all he could obtain was an aſylum for himſelf and his family.

So many viciſſitudes of the Engliſh affairs in the Eaſt Indies, occaſioned an incredible ferment in London, among all who had any concern with that company; the public was ſurprized that ſuch important events had paſſed without being known to any but the directors, and a party was formed with Lord Clive at its head, for putting the direction into other hands at the approaching election of directors. On the 12th of March, a very numerous general court of the Eaſt India proprietors was held, and opened by Sir Francis Goſling, who declared "the buſineſs of their meeting to be, to enquire into the preſent condition of the company's affairs abroad; to endeavour to diſcover the cauſes of the misfortunes that had happened at Bengal; to learn what ſteps had been taken by the directors to remedy theſe misfortunes; and their reaſons for diſmiſſing many of their old ſervants, and appointing a gentleman, ſeventh in the council at Bombay, (meaning Mr. Vanſittart) to be governor at Bengal, in preference to another gentleman who ſhould regularly have ſucceeded to that truſt."

The buſineſs of the day was then divided into three heads; under the firſt was diſcuſſed the conduct of Mr. Vanſittart, in advancing Coſſim Ali Cawn to the nabobſhip; and depoſing Mhir Jaffier, in direct oppoſition, as was alledged to his council, whom he ought to have conſulted. As the original principles upon which this revolu-

tion was brought about, had been entirely conformable to the ſentiments of the directors themſelves, this matter bore a ſtrenuous debate, which threw the aſſembly into ſome confuſion, if not tumult, many letters and papers were read to prove the expediency and neceſſity of the meaſure, and many to ſhew its pernicious tendency; but their contents were ſo directly contrary to one another, that the debates on this head were upon the whole, trifling and ineffectual. Under the ſecond head was diſcuſſed the management of the company's ſervants at Calcutta. It was alledged and many papers produced to confirm it, that the majority of the council had demanded exorbitant ſums from the new nabob, who had refuſed to comply with the payment, while the governor proteſted againſt them. It was on the other hand urged, that without breaking the arrangements, which had been made between Coſſim and Mr. Vanſitart, the company's affairs muſt have been abſolutely ruined in India. To this it was replied that they could have no other effect than the reducing the profits of the company's ſervants, who wanted to be exempted from all duties, and even to trade duty free. Nay, it was urged, that they often covered under their names the illicit trade of the natives. The undue preference that had been given to many of the company's principal ſervants, formed the third and laſt head of this debate, which grew more warm than ever; the friends of thoſe poſtponed or prefered, intereſting themſelves with uncommon ardour. But we are here to take a view of the ſtate of Lord Clive's affairs with regard to the company, and which indeed had given riſe to the original

deciſſion

diciſſion among the directors and proprietors. In conſequence of the great ſervices rendered by Lord Clive, to Mhir Jaffier, when in the company's ſervice in India, the nabob had recompenſed his friend and confederate with the moſt laviſh prodigality. He had aſſigned to colonel Clive, a jaghere or ſettlement, upon the revenues of that country, iſſuing from the reſerved rent of the lands, which had been ceded to the company by the prince; and this Jaghire which amounted to near 30,000 l. a year, was conſequently to be payed by the factory; as his lordſhip had ſo great a concern in the welfare of the company, he thought he had a reaſonable claim to the greateſt part of its management. He differed with the directors in wording the article relating to the Eaſt Indies in the preliminaries for peace, and it was accordingly altered; many occurrences happened which indicated that thoſe who were in the ſecret of the direction, were averſe to his Lordſhip's having a ſeat at their board, and the oppoſition to him was thought to ariſe principally from Mr. Sullivan, the deputy chairman, who was ſaid to underſtand the affairs of the direction better than any of his colleagues. Lord Clive's intereſt being ſupported by his wealth, his creatures and his dependents, theſe partiſans preſſed his admiſſion into the directorſhip; and matters went ſo high, that orders were ſent to the company's ſervants to ſtop the payment of the jaghire, for the recovery of which his lordſhip brought a ſuit in the chancery of England.

Various were the reaſons alledged by the directors for this detention, which Lord Clive endeavoured

voured to make the public reſent as injurious; they objected to the diſpoſal which his lordſhip had made of the treaſures of the nabob whom he had depoſed; and that he had with held from the relations of the ſufferers in the black hole at Calcutta, the ſums ſtipulated for their indemnification. He was likewiſe accuſed of remitting money home by a Dutch ſhip; contrary to the regulations of the company, and of having ſupplied a Portugueſe ſhip with goods and money, concluding that he had no right to the jaghire, which was payed at the company's expence. In anſwer to theſe imputations, his lordſhip addreſſed a letter to the proprietors more ſophiſtical than convincing, he proved indeed that ſome of the relations of the ſufferers at Calcutta, as appeared by their own letters, had received ſome indemnification, but it appeared notwithſtanding the plauſibility of his arguments that the ſtipulations in their favour at leaſt of the majority of them had not been fulfilled with the moſt ſcrupulous exactneſs; that the nabob's treaſures had been applied, according to the ſecret agreement with Mhir Jaffier, to whom in fact, Mr. Clive, had declared they belonged, after his uſurpation; he denied having ſent any money by Dutch ſhips but in bills, which he ſaid with a ſpecious diſintereſtedneſs, were in danger of never being paid, as he was then oppoſing the deſigns of the Dutch in Bengal; and that at the time ſame they ſent thoſe bills, the company's ſervants thought it inconſiſtent with their intereſt to grant bills. The charge with regard to the Portugueſe ſhip he called a groundleſs falſity; and his lordſhip declared that he had at leaſt as good a right to his jaghire,

as the company had to the vaſt eſtates which they poſſeſſed in the Eaſt Indies.

Lord Clive's friends and adherents amongſt the proprietors boldly aſſerted that nothing but the credit, experience and abilities of Lord Clive in perſon could retrieve the diſorder of the company's affairs in the Eaſt Indies. Other meetings were accordingly held to bring about this end ſo much deſired by Lord Clive, and a motion was made by his friends, that he ſhould be requeſted to take upon him the preſidentſhip of Bengal, and the command of the military forces there. His Lordſhip, in his anſwer, ſhewed himſelf ready to comply with the motion, provided matters could be ſettled, ſo that he could proceed with vigour, ſupported by a friendly and united direction. Upon this a letter was ſent in form to his Lordſhip, but in the mean time ſuch altercations paſſed between him and the deputy chairman, that his lordſhip declared he was reſolved to decline the preſidentſhip and all military command, if that gentleman continued to take the lead in the company's affairs at London. The directors on the oppoſition to his Lordſhip; upon this publiſhed the favourable accounts of their affairs in the Eaſt Indies which they had received from major Adams, and which they hoped would convince the public, that there was no neceſſity for courting Lord Clive, to accept of the preſidentſhip, which he continued to decline, unleſs Mr. Sullivan was diſplaced from his power.

The publication of the accounts from major Adams and governor Vanſitart, damped the zeal of many who had been moſt forward in preſſing Lord Clive to name his own terms, and the houſe

liſt,

ſeſt, as it was called, prevailed againſt that of the proprietors, which had been formed by his Lordſhip's friends.

Mr. Sullivan however, was ſo near being thrown out of the direction, which he carried only by one vote upon the ſcrutiny of the ballot, that it was plain, buſineſs could not be done, if he continued to lead the board of directors; and a ballot being taken for a chairman, Mr. Rous, Lord Clive's friend, was elected, and Mr. Boulton, deputy chairman; on this event, freſh applications were made to Lord Clive, his Lordſhip, in a letter addreſſed to the directors, took notice, that a lawſuit was depending between him and the company, concerning his jaghire, which rendered it highly improper for him to go abroad before it was determined; "and therefore ſaid his Lordſhip, allow me to ſuggeſt to you the expediency of referring the matter to a general court of the proprietors, with the propoſal I now make, viz. That I ſhall enjoy my jaghire for ten years, provided the company ſhall remain ſo long in poſſeſſion of thoſe lands, of which the jaghire is the quit rent, and provided I ſhall live ſo long; at the end of ten years or at my death, if it ſhould happen firſt, my right and title to the jaghire ſhall ceaſe; and on my arrival in India, I ſhall uſe my utmoſt endeavours with the nabob, to ſecure the reverſion of it to the company. "Should my death happen early in this ſervice, I ſubmit to the conſideration of the directors and proprietors (but do not inſiſt upon it) whether it cannot be continued to my heirs for five years." In conſequence of this letter a general court of the Eaſt India company was held

to

to deliberate on its contents; and a reſolution paſſed for taking the caſe of the proprietors by a ballot for empowering the court of directors "To agree with Lord Clive for the payment of his jaghire during ten years, if his Lordſhip ſhould ſo long live, and the company ſhall be in actual poſſeſſion of the lands, out of which it iſſues, and the revenues thereof during that period of time." This queſtion created great debates. The court of directors thought themſelves obliged to juſtify their proceedings upon the jaghire, by producing the opinions which they had taken from the learned of the law. Lord Clive's friends did the ſame on their ſide; and they were found on the whole to be confuſed, contradictory, and irreconcilable to each other. The majority of the meeting, however, ſeemed inclinable to cloſe with his Lordſhip's propoſal, and a day was fixed for the ballot. Before the company broke up, a motion was made, on the part of his Lordſhip's friends, in the view of facilitating the ſucceſs of the ballot, "That for the future, none of the company's ſervants in the Eaſt Indies ſhould, upon pain of expulſion receive from any of the nabobs, or from any others, any kind of gratuity or reward without the concurrence or conſent of the council or of the court of directors of the Eaſt India company." This reſolution met with applauſe, and paſſed; the event has proved how it has been eluded with impunity.

On the day after the ballot was taken, it appeared that the queſtion was carried for allowing Lord Clive his jaghire by a majority of 583, againſt 396. Other motions of leſs importance were then made, particularly upon a reſolution which had been

taken by the court of directors to recommend Major Adams to the ſecretary at war, for his majeſty to confer on him ſome higher poſt, that he might be continued at Bengal ſo long as the exigencies of affairs ſhould require. A motion being made upon this reſolution, it was ſtrongly oppoſed as tending to imply a check upon Lord Clive, who was then making preparations for his departure. The motion however, was carried, as were other motions, for returning the thanks of the court to major Carnac, and the other officers and troops who had ſo gallantly ſerved under major Adams. After this, many debates enſued, which diſcovered that many of the proprietors had not a very high opinion of his lordſhip's principles, and abilities. Lord Clive had formed a military eſtabliſhment for the Eaſt Indies, by reducing the company's troops into regiments, and keeping up two battalions in England, with various other regulations; after a warm diſcuſſion on which particulars, the debate was ended by a motion being carried "That the company's affairs in Bengal requiring immediate attendance, and the ſeaſon being very far advanced, Lord Clive be deſired to embark forthwith for that government; and that all the officers now appointed be ordered to proceed thither without delay."

During theſe debates the company received the alarming news of a moſt dreadful ſtorm that had happened to their ſhipping in the Eaſt Indies. * His majeſty was pleaſed to confer the order of

* In Madraſs Road, October 21.

the Bath upon Lord Clive, who ſoon after departed for the Eaſt Indies.

In order to know the juſtice of the Eaſt India company's claims, and the cauſes of the ſubſequent revolutions in Indoſtan, it is proper to take a retroſpect into the firſt eſtabliſhment of the company, and to obſerve how they firſt craved the protection of the Mogul and of the Subahs; encroached afterwards upon their territories; maintained their uſurpations by force and artifice; and at laſt aſſumed to themſelves the right of making and depoſing nabobs in the Peninſula of Indus.

The firſt idea of the Eaſt India company was formed in Queen Elizabeth's time, but it has ſince admitted of vaſt alterations. Its ſhares or ſubſcriptions, were originally only 50 l. ſterling, and its capital only 36,989l. but the directors having a conſiderable dividend to make in 1676, it was agreed to join the profits to the capital, by which the ſhares were doubled, and conſequently, each became of 100 l. value, and the capital 739,782l. 10s. to which capital of 963,639 l. if the profits of the company to the year 1685 be added, the whole ſtock will be found to be 1,703,402 l. Though the eſtabliſhment of this company was vindicated in the cleareſt manner by Sir Joſhuah Child, and other able advocates, yet the partiality of the Duke of York, afterwards James II. had for his favourite African trade, the loſſes it ſuſtained in the wars with the Dutch, and the revolutions which had happened in the affairs of Indoſtan, damped the ardour of the public to ſupport it; ſo that at the time of the Revolution, when the war broke out with France, it was in a very indifferent ſituation.

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This was in a great meaſure owing to its having no parliamentary ſanction, whereby its ſtock often ſold for one half leſs than it was really worth; and it was reſolved that a new company ſhould be erected, under the authority of parliament.

The oppoſition given to all the public ſpirited meaſures of King William by faction, rendered this propoſal a matter of vaſt difficulty; but at laſt, after many parliamentary enquiries, the new ſubſcription prevailed; and the ſubſcribers, upon advancing two millions to the public at eight per cent. obtained an act of parliament in their favour. The old company, however, retained a vaſt intereſt both in the parliament and nation; and the act being found in ſome reſpects defective, ſo violent a ſtruggle between the two companies aroſe, that in the year 1702; they were united by an indenture tripartite; in the year 1708, the yearly fund of eight per cent. for two millions, was reduced to five per cent. by a loan of 1,200,000 l. to the public, without any additional intereſt; for which conſideration the company obtained a prolongation of its excluſive privileges; and a new charter was granted to them under the title of the United Company of Merchants trading to the Eaſt Indies. Its excluſive right of trade was prolonged from time to time. And a farther ſum was lent by the company in 1730, by which though the company's privileges were extended for thirty three years, yet the intereſt of their capital, which then amounted to 3,200,000 l. was reduced to three per cent. and called the India three per cent. annuities.

Thoſe annuities are different from the trading ſtock of the company, the proprietors of which, inſtead

inſtead of receiving a regular annuity, have according to their different ſhares, a dividend of the profits, ariſing from the company's trade; and that dividend ariſes or falls according to the circumſtances of the company either real, or as it is too often the caſe pretended. Before the late act of Parliament, a proprietor of ſtock to the amount of 500 l. whether man or woman, native or foreigner, had a right to be manager and to give a vote in the general council. Now one thouſand pounds is the qualification for proprietors and two for directors. The directors are twenty four in number, including the chairman and deputy chairman, who may be re-elected for four years ſucceſſively. The chairman has a ſalary of 200 l. a year and each of the directors 150 l. we ſhall mention in the courſe of this work the ineffectual motions for raiſing their ſalary. The meetings, or court of directors, are to be held at leaſt once a week; but are commonly oftener, being ſummoned as occaſion requires. Out of the body of directors are choſen ſeveral committees, who have the peculiar inſpection of certain branches of the company's buſineſs; as the committee of correſpondence, a committee of buying, a committee of treaſury, a houſe committee, a committee of warehouſes, a committee of ſhipping, a committee of accounts, a committee of law-ſuits, and a committee to prevent the growth of private trade; who have under them a ſecretary, a caſheer, clerks and warehouſe keepers of teas, Bengal goods, coaſt and ſarat, &c.

The preſent governors of the principal company's ſettlements are, Bengal, Warner Haſtings; Bombay, William Hornby; Fort St. George, A. Wynch;

Wynch; Fort Marlborough, Richard Wyatt; St. Helena, John Skottowe, Eſqrs.

The amazing territorial acquiſitions of this company, which are attended with a proportional encreaſe of trade, joined to the diſſentions among its managers at home and abroad, engaged of late the attention of the legiſlature ſo much, that a reſtriction was laid for their dividends, for a certain time, not to exceed 12 and half per cent. We have already mentioned the vaſt fortunes acquired by their governors and officers abroad, and the ſtate in which they live, like ſovereign princes.

The trade of England to the Eaſt Indies, conſtitutes one of the moſt ſtupendous political, as well as commercial machines, that is to be met with in hiſtory; the trade itſelf is excluſive, and lodged in the company, which has a temporary monopoly of it, in conſideration of money advanced to the government; beſides their ſettlements on the coaſt of India, which they enjoy under proper reſtrictions, by act of parliament, they have through the various internal revolutions which have happened in the empire of Indoſtan, acquired ſuch territorial poſſeſſions, as renders them the moſt formidable commercial republic (for ſo it may be called in its preſent ſituation) that has been known in the world ſince the demolition of Carthage, though their revenues are known but imperfectly, except to the directors of the company. It has been publicly affirmed, that it amounts annually to above three millions and a half ſterling: the expences of the company in fleets, forts and armies, for maintaining thoſe acquiſitions, are certainly very great; but after theſe are defrayed, the company not only clears

clears a vaſt ſum, but was able to pay till lately to the government four hundred thouſand pounds yearly, for a certain time, partly by way of indemnification, for the expence of the public in protecting the company, and partly as a tacit tribute for thoſe poſſeſſions which are territorial and not commercial. This republic therefore cannot be ſaid to be independent, and it is hard to ſay what form it may take, when the term of the bargain with the government is expired. This company exports to the Eaſt Indies, all kinds of woollen-manufacture, all ſorts of hard ware, lead, bullion, and quick-ſilver; their imports conſiſt of gold, diamonds, raw ſilks, drugs, tea, pepper, arrack, porcelain ware, ſalt-petre for home conſumption; and of wrought ſilks, muſlins, callicoes, cottons, and all the woven manufactory of India for exportation to foreign countries.

The war between two European nations on the coaſt of India, has not till very lately, had any connection with the governing people of the country. It has been entirely owing to the war, that an European has been allowed to have any kind of familiar commerce with them, or that the ſervants of the company have been admitted to an acquaintance with their courts, the ſplendor of which has been greatly leſſened by foreign and inteſtine commotions. The war alone has taught them the geography of the country a hundred miles round their ſettlements; and within theſe few years, thoſe who had been at Madara, which is about that diſtance, were as eagerly liſtened to when they returned to Madraſs, and their accounts were as new

to all that heard them, as if they had come from Japan.

We muſt not ſuppoſe a man the better acquainted with facts, for having been in India, unleſs he has been in that very part which was the ſcene of action; for the ſeveral ſettlements being ſome as remote from others as England is from the moſt ſouthern or northern parts of Europe, the people on one coaſt, have ſometimes no more knowledge of what is doing on the other, than we have at home.

Without ſome previous explanations, one can hardly conceive, by what means a handful of Engliſh have apeared ſo reſpectable in the field, when oppoſed to Aſiatics, and how they became lately the arbiters of the Mogul Empire.

It is generally ſuppoſed that the Peninſula within the Ganges is under the immediate government of the Mogul himſelf, and that the royal mandates from Delli are, according to the received notion of ſo arbitrary a dominion, obeyed in the moſt remote parts of the coaſt. This is ſo far from the truth, that a great part of that vaſt peninſula never acknowledged ſubjection to the throne of Delli, till the reign of Aurengzebe; and the revenues from thoſe Indian kings and Mooriſh governors, who were conquered or employed by him, have, ſince his death, been intercepted by the vice-roys, whom his weaker ſucceſſors have appointed for the government of the peninſula; ſo that at this time the tribute from the ſeveral potentates cannot reach the court of Delli; nor the vigour of the government extended from the capital to thoſe remote countries, and ever ſince the province of Indoſtan

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was devaſted by Nadir Shaw, the weakneſs of the Mogul, and the independency of the vice-roys, have in a manner confined the influence of the richeſt monarch of the Eaſt to what is properly called Indoſtan; ſo that the ſovereign poſſeſſes a third only, and that the leaſt valuable part of his own vaſt empire. Bengal the ſmalleſt, but moſt fertile province, is governed by a vice-roy, who has been for ſome years paſt the creature of the Engliſh company, the other diviſion called the Deckan, extending from Balaſore to Cape Comorin, is alſo delegated by the Mogul to another vice roy of exceeding great power, having within his juriſdiction ſeven large territories to which he has the undiſputed right of nominating as many nabobs or governors. In all parts of India there are ſtill large diſtricts, which have preſerved, with the Gentoo religion, the old form of government under Indian kings called Rajas. Such are Maiſſore, and Tanjour. There are alſo among the woods and mountainous parts of the country ſeveral petty princes, or heads of clans, diſtinguiſhed by the names of Polygars. Theſe are all tributary to the nabobs, as thoſe are to the vice-roy of Deckan; the Carnatic, a part of it comprehends the principal ſettlements of the Europeans, Madraſs, Pondicherry, and alſo Arcot on the Coromandel coaſt. Thus the vice-roys of Bengal and Deckan have the principal ſway over the peninſula of Indus.

The chain of mountains which run from north to ſouth, are the cauſe of a phænomenon in natural hiſtory. The countries ſeparated by theſe mountains, though under the ſame latitude, have their ſeaſons and climate entirely different from each

other; and while it is winter on one ſide of the *hills*, it is ſummer on the other. On the coaſt of Malabar, a ſouth-weſt wind begins to blow from the ſeat at the end of June, with continued rain; and rages againſt the coaſt for four months, during which time the weather is calm and ſerene on the coaſt of Coromandel; and towards the end of October the rainy ſeaſon, which they term the change of the monſoon, begins on the coaſt of Coromandel: at which time, the tempeſtuous winds bearing continually againſt a coaſt in which there are no good ports, make it ſo dangerous for the ſhipping to remain there, for the three enſuing months, that it is ſcarce ever attempted. This is the cauſe of the periodical return of our ſhips to Bombay, where there is a ſecure harbour and convenient docks.

As the Europeans have of late directed the counſels of the Indian princes, and awed them into a ſervile non-reſiſtance to their arbitrary meaſures by the ſuperiority of a few diſciplined battalions againſt their numerous and timid legions, it will be requiſite to give ſome account of their manners, habits and prejudices, as may have a nearer or more remote influence on their military characters.

The Aſiatics bring immenſe multitudes into the field, without appointing any commiſſaries for ſubſiſting their armies, which moſtly conſiſt of horſemen, with two ſervants each, one to take care of his horſe, the other to procure him forage. All theſe are accompanied by their wives and children, and a moveable town of ſhops follows the camp, where every thing is ſold as in their cities. Some

hundred

hundred of elephants for ſtate only, and a train of women, with a numberleſs retinue, always attend the prince and the great officers, for whenever the ſovereign moves, he diſplays in the camp more pomp and magnificence than in his reſidence, and war is only the ſecondary object of his thoughts and precaution; it is his pleaſure that his ſubjects ſhould abandon the capital in order to augment his numbers.

The Mogul's camp is no leſs than twenty Engliſh miles in compaſs, the length ſome ways about ſeven miles, including the ſkirts; in the middle where there are regular ſtreets, the ſhops are diſpoſed in ſuch order, that every man knows where to go directly for what he wants; men of quality pitch their tents on a ground and at a diſtance marked by a Sardanan, an officer of horſe; tradeſmen and victuallers have a place ſet apart without the precincts of the Mogul's camp. No man muſt approach the royal quarter nearer than a muſket ſhot every way, which is ſo ſtrictly obſerved, that none are admitted but by name.

In imitation of their ſovereign, and from the ſame motives of vanity and oſtentation, the leſſer princes and vice-roys affect the ſame ſplendor and magnificence in their camps and the number of their followers. Thoſe who ſaw Nazirzing's camp in 1750, aſſure us, that it exceeded twenty miles in circumference; there were on the ſpot 200,000 fighting men, and the followers of the camp amounted to 500,000 ſouls. Nazirzing's army being, at that time in the heart of his own dominions and undiſturbed by morauders, was regularly ſupplied from all the neighbouring towns, which by receiving

ready money for their proviſions, were enabled to pay the arrears of their revenues, ſo that the vice-roy maintained this amazing multitude by the contributions which he raiſed in his march, without diminiſhing the treaſure he always carried with him, and which filled twenty tents with gold and ſilver coin.

The ſtricteſt orders are given for all proviſions to be brought into the camp from the whole country around; by theſe means the towns and villages are exhauſted, but the camp, for the moſt part, is plentifully ſupplied.

The forage is procured by men conſtantly employed in cutting turf, and waſhing the roots of it, and this is a more hearty food for a horſe than graſs. A ſhower of rain produces another crop in a few days time; and in caſe of continued dry weather, they move their camp to freſh ground. They alſo feed their horſes in the rice fields, and where meat is plenty they boil the offals to rags, and mixing it with butter and ſome ſorts of grain, make balls of it, which they thruſt down the horſe's throat; in a ſcarcity of proviſions, they give them opium, which has the ſame effect both on the horſes and men, for at once it damps their appetites, and enables them to endure fatigue. The horſes of the country, are naturally ſo exceedingly vicious, that they are not to be broke in the manage, and cannot be brought to act with the ſame regularity in the field, as a ſquadron of European cavalry. The Perſian horſes being more gentle and docile, are greatly eſteemed and often valued at a thouſand guineas, thoſe of India ſell for fifty or one hundred pounds.

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As the greateſt part of the Indians abſtain from all kinds of animal food, rice being their common and almoſt only ſuſtenance, there is generally a ſufficient ſupply of beef for the Mahometan ſoldiery and the ſmall proportion of Europeans. Indeed their numerous armies, ſeldom keep the field any time, without great loſs by famine, which is ſcarcely felt, among ſuch numbers, and very little regarded from any principles of humanity. The fear of death ſo frequent in their armies, does not prevent their princes from aſſembling numerous forces, with the ſame overſight, truſting to chance and regardleſs of the ſoldier's ſubſiſtance and preſervation. They generally make conſiderable loſſes and ſuſtain a great damage in men, beaſts, and all the implements of war in their marches through difficult roads and defiles, and in paſſing over great rivers, which are not fordable and ſwell like torrents in the rainy ſeaſon. As veſſels built of timber, cannot be brought up againſt the ſtream, they make large boats of a kind of baſket work, which they cover with ſkins. They are very light, will carry above fifty horſe, and are capable of tranſporting the heavieſt artillery.

Whilſt the ſame wretched government and abhorrence of innovation ſubſiſts, the Aſiatics can never be made ſoldiers. Beſides their daſtardy diſpoſition, and their dread of fire arms, the inexperience of their leaders, who never underſtood the advantages of diſcipline, and totally neglect their infantry, is the chief cauſe that a handful of Europeans is an over-match for their diſorderly multitudes. Their cavalry is well paid and kept on a more reſpectable footing; they are not unwilling

ling to engage with ſabres in a ſkirmiſh, but they have an invincible averſion to bring their horſes within the reach of our guns; and perhaps it is not ſo much through fear and puſillanimity that they decline an engagement, as for the preſervation of their horſes, which are generally the only fortune they have. As an inſtance of the affection they contract for an animal ſo ſerviceable, Morarow, the general of the Marattas having had his favourite horſe ſhot, mourned for him three days, without his turban.

The natives who have been diſciplined by Europeans, and formed into a regular infantry, under officers of their own, generally known by the name of ſea-poys, have familiarized themſelves to fire arms, and behave well behind walls; and when we give them ſerjeants to lead them on, they make no contemptible figure in the field.

Nothing is ſo detrimental to their military affairs, as the falſe notion, generally entertained amongſt them, by their commanders example, in relation to artillery; tho' they repoſe a vain confidence in their own, they are ſoon terrified with that of the enemy; and their moſt fatal miſtake, is in placing their chief dependence on the largeſt pieces, which they neither know how to manage nor move; they give them pompous and ſounding names, as the Italians do to their guns, and have ſome pieces which carry a ball of ſeventy pounds. When the Europeans march round them with their light field pieces, and oblige them to move theſe enormous weights, their bullocks which are very untractable, cannot be governed if a ſhot comes amongſt them; and at the ſame time are ſo ill harneſſed, that it requires

requires ſome conſiderable time to free the reſt from any one that ſhall happen to be unruly or ſlain.

In war with the Aſiatics alone, their being ſo very tenacious of their old manners, gives to the Europeans a great advantage over them; not only the Prince himſelf, but every Raja, who has the command of all the forces he can bring into the field, always appears among them mounted on an elephant, and is at once the general and enſign, or ſtandard bearer of that corps, who keep their eyes conſtantly fixed upon him; and if they loſe ſight of him for a moment, conclude that all is loſt. Thus we find, Aurengzeb gained two battles by the treachery of thoſe, who perſuaded his two victorious brothers to get down from their elephants, mount their horſes, and purſue the vanquiſhed; their troops miſſing them, immediately diſperſed. The ſame practice, continued to this day, affords our engineers a fair opportunity of deciding the fate of a whole detachment, by one well directed diſcharge of a ſix pounder, and thoſe enormous beaſts, now ſeem to be brought into the field for no other end but to be a mark for our artillery. They begin to be ſenſible of the danger of this practice, and it is ſurprizing they did not make the ſame obſervation even before the uſe of the artillery; their general thus diſtinguiſhed, was in like manner expoſed to the arrows of a whole army, and yet we always find them in the ſame perilous ſituation. It is recorded in ancient hiſtory, that Porus was pierced with nine arrows, and ſunk from his elephant with innumerable wounds. It is not a mere regard for ancient manners that will induce

induce them to continue the ſame method, they look upon it as a ſure expediency of keeping their troops together by this ſignal. When Aurengzeb perceived his army giving way on every ſide, he ordered chains to be faſtened about the legs of his elephant, to convince them that he would not give the example of flight; and that thoſe to whom his life was precious, could preſerve it by no other means but fairly maintaining their ground. The perſon of the prince was always more expoſed among remote and barbarous nations unſkilled in the military ſcience.

We find in the hiſtory of Mexico, Montezuma repreſented as performing no part of a general; but only ſitting in an exalted ſtage on men's ſhoulders, and ſerving as a conſpicous ſtandard to his troops.

As the Indian princes are apprehenſive of the danger of being thus expoſed, they ſometimes avail themſelves of the only device that can afford them any ſecurity. They order ſeveral elephants capariſon'd alike, with riders in the ſame rich and ſplendid habits to appear in different parts of the field on the ſame day.

Another great obſtacle to their ſucceſs in war is their ſuperſtition, and particularly their ſtrict obſervance of lucky and incuſpicious days, which often prevents them from taking the moſt obvious advantages of an enemy.

The Indians are particularly fond of all kinds of beaſts of prey, they keep great numbers of them, and often viſit them before they give battle; if they find them heavy and dull, they think it a bad omen, and a ſufficient reaſon to poſtpone the action;

tion; on the other hand the accidental fury of the animal is regarded as a preſage of ſucceſs.

The greateſt obſtacle of all, to their becoming a military people, is that thoſe, who have once had ſuch ſucceſs in the field, as to obtain the name of fortunate, are ever afterwards conſidered as invincible; and being unmoleſted for a time diſband their forces, to ſave the needleſs expence of a ſtanding army. For this reaſon there are few veterans, and their armies conſiſt of raw and unexperienced men, haſtily brought together from different parts. Numbers are but an impediment, and bravery ineffectual, among an undiſciplined multitude.

Nothwithſtanding they have ſo ſeverely ſuffered in being ſurprized in the night by the Europeans; they can never be brought to eſtabliſh either order or vigilance in their camp; and when they have acted with us as allies, the moſt earneſt remonſtrances could never prevail with them to be ſufficiently upon their guard, when in the neighbourhood of the French, or to quit their ground in the morning to co-operate with us in ſurprizing the enemy.

At the cloſe of the evening, every man eats an inconceiveable quantity of rice, and many take after this repaſt ſome kind of ſoporific drugs; ſo that about midnight the whole army is in a dead ſleep. The conſequence of theſe habits is obvious, yet it would appear a ſtrange propoſition to an eaſtern monarch, to endeavour to perſuade him, that the ſecurity of his throne depended upon the regulation of the meals of a common ſoldier, much leſs would he be prevailed on to reſtrain him in the uſe of that opium, which is to warm his blood

for action, and animate his ſoul with heroiſm; it fills the mind of an European ſoldier at once with compaſſion and contempt, to ſee a heap of theſe poor creatures ſolely animated by a momentary intoxication, crowded into a breach, and both in their garb and impotent fury, reſembling a mob of frantic women.

There is certainly an appearance of effeminacy in the eaſtern dreſs, which has at all times greatly contributed to leſſen their military character with the European nations, who from their habits and prejudices, will naturally receive a ſtrange impreſſion, upon ſeeing a body of horſe in ſilk or cotton robes.

A nation under ſuch circumſtances, can never become a military people; yet there is no character they are ſo fond of as that of a warrior; and as they have no other notion of government, they have been, from time immemorial, continually at war with one another. They talk in a very high ſtrain of their paſſion for military glory; and as the word *'zing*, in their language ſignifies a ſoldier, they generally affect the honour of that title.

Upon this occaſion, it would be great injuſtice to our commanders on the coaſt of Coromandel, not to obſerve that they have always had, ſince the battle of Plaſſey, to contend with a ſuperior body of Europeans, conducted by leaders of experience and rank in the French army.

For the illuſtration of the events of war, the manners of the Mahometan uſurpers in India, who are the governing people of the Mogul Empire, are chiefly to be examined.

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The Mahometan princes have very little intercourſe with other nations, and admit no foreigners to their courts, unleſs ſuch as by any peculiar talent may gratify ſome preſent fancy.

The people of Indoſtan have no written laws, the king's judgment binds; who ſits and gives ſentence once a week with much patience, both in civil and criminal caſes; ſometimes he ſees executions done by his elephants, with an unmanly delight in blood.

His governors of provinces rule by his firmers, which are letters or commiſſions, authoriſing them to take life and goods at pleaſure. Before the revolutions of the Mogul Empire in this century, the revenues of the ſovereign exceeded either Turk or Perſian, or any eaſtern prince; all the lands of his dominions are his. He maintains all his ſubjects that are not mechanics, by revenues beſtowed on them reckoned by horſes; and the allowance of many is greater than the eſtates of German princes. All men riſe to titles and eſtates as they advance in favour, which is got by frequent preſents, rich and rare. The Mogul is heir to all that die; to the ſons of thoſe who die worth two or three millions, he gives ſome ſmall lordſhip to begin the world anew. The king ſees regularly at noon his elephants fight; from four to five he entertains all comers, to be ſeen and worſhipped by them; from nine till midnight he revels familiarly among his favourites.

The king has no council, but every officer gives his opinion apart. He is ſtately by habit and cuſtom. The buildings of the chief cities are contemptible, of mud, one ſtory high. The royal palaces are built of ſtone; handſome and uniform;

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the grandees live in tents, or houſes worſe than our cottages.

The king on his birth-day is weighed againſt ſome jewels, gold, ſilver, rich ſtuffs, ſilks, butter, rice, fruit, &c. of every ſort a little, which is given to the prieſt or bramins.

The king's elephants have their chains, belts, and furniture of gold and ſilver, with many ſilk banners and flags carried about them.

The firſt European ſettlers in India were obliged for the intereſt of their commerce, in a ſervile manner to carry their preſents and pay their homage to thoſe petty chiefs, whom they do not at preſent deign to admit to their Durbar, except when ſome particular intereſt requires it. This change has happened within theſe thirty years. It is not long ſince the nabob of Arcot, inconſiderable as he is in regard to the Suba of Deckan, being but a farmer of his revenue, behaved to the Europeans as a ſovereign to his ſubjects. His letters to the governors and preſidents of factories ran in a ſtrain of authority opprobrious to civilized nations. The Europeans never appeared before him, but as ſuppliants, carrying preſents which he continually exacted from them. If any even of his inferior officers came towards Madraſs or Fort St. David's, formal deputations were ſent out to meet them with the greateſt marks of reſpect. The utmoſt care was taken of giving offence to thoſe petty tyrants, whoſe reſentment might have prejudiced our commerce.

For a Suba of the Deckan to condeſcend to write to the commander in chief of the company's forces, was a thing unheard of, and not to be ex-

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pected. When Nizamal Mulk, came into the province of Arcot, to retake Trinchinopoly from the Marattas, the European nations ſtrove who ſhould give him the ſtrongeſt mark of their ſubmiſſion, and omitted no means of gaining his favour; yet he deigned not to write to any of the governors who repreſented the Europeans, and hardly honoured with a look the rich preſents, laid with all imaginable reſpect at his feet, as a token of their homage and dependence. The bounds of the company's eſtabliſhments could not be paſſed without ſubmiſſion and preſents, to obtain leave from the farmers of the revenue. Very few Europeans till very lately have been acquainted with the interior parts of the country; ſome of the company's ſervants, from their intimate and familiar intercourſe with the governing people in Bengal, have had all the advantages of information; when they were at Patna, they had conſtant advices from Delli.

It is proper to preſent the reader, with a view of the outlines of the different tribes and nations of Indoſtan.

The Mahommedans, who are called Moors of Indoſtan, are computed to be about ten million; and the Indians of the Mogul empire and the two Peninſulas, about an hundred million. Above half the empire is ſubject to Rajahs, or Kings, who derive their deſcent from the old princes of India, and exerciſe all rights of ſovereignty, only paying tribute to the Great Mogul, and obſerving the treaties by which their anceſtors recognized his ſuperiority. In other reſpects, the government of Indoſtan, is full of

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wiſe checks upon the overgrowing greatneſs of any ſubject; but as all preventions of that kind depend upon the adminiſtration, the indolence, and barbarity of the Moguls, or Emperors, and their Great Vice-roys have rendered them fruitleſs.

The original inhabitants of India are called Gentoos. They pretend that Brama, who was their legiſlator both in politics and religion, was inferior only to God, and that he exiſted many thouſand years before our account of the creation. This Brama, probably was ſome great Gentoo, whoſe beneficence like that of the pagan legiſlators, led his people and their poſterity to pay him divine honours. The Gentoo prieſts, called Bramins, pretend that he bequeathed to them a book called the Vidam, containing his doctrines and inſtitutions; and that though the original is loſt, they are ſtill poſſeſſed of a commentary upon it, called the Shaſtah, which is written in a dead language called the Sanſcrit, and known only to the Bramins, who ſtudy it. The foundation of Brama's doctrine, conſiſted in the belief of a Supreme Being, who has created a regular gradation of beings, ſome ſuperior and ſome inferior to man; in the immortality of the ſoul, and a future ſtate of rewards and puniſhments, which is to conſiſt of a tranſmigration into different bodies, according to the lives they have led in their pre-exiſtent ſtate. From this it appears more than probable that the Pythagorean metempſychoſis took its riſe in India.

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The neceſſity of inculcating this ſublime, but otherwiſe complicated doctrine, into the lower ranks, induced the Bramins who are by no means unanimous in their tenets, to have recourſe to ſenſible repreſentations of the Deity and his attributes; ſo that the original doctrines of Brama, have degenerated into rank, abſurd idolatry in the worſhip of the moſt hideous figures, either delineated or carved, and the belief of an Omnipotent Being is now almoſt loſt among the Gentoos.

The Bramins have a great ſway over the vulgar, and artfully make ſuperſtition and credulity ſubſervient to their pride and ambition. Colonel Laurence in a letter to the Governor of Fort St. George, mentioned a ſickneſs, which prevailed among the black people attending the camp, which had been owing partly to the ſeaſon of the year, and in ſome meaſure to bad water. "A Bramin, added he, moſt probably employed by the enemy came into our camp, and by pretending inſpirations, he got at hand about him a crowd of Malabar people. Theſe he threatened with the vengeance of their Gods if they followed the camp, and very artfully inſinuated, that the preſent reigning ſickneſs amongſt them, was a puniſhment inflicted on them by their God, who was offended at their remaining with the Engliſh. Upon this they all departed. Theſe are the blacks who are hired to carry the baggage, and ſometimes to draw the guns.

The Indians are particularly diſtinguiſhed from the reſt of mankind by their diviſion into tribes, the four principal of which are the Bramins, ſol-

ſoldiers, farmers and mechanics; theſe are again ſubdivided into a multiplicity of inferior diſtinctions. Though the Bramins uſe commonly their power over the minds of the people to very bad purpoſes, ſome of them are moral and innocent; but in general they are a deſigning, degenerate ſet of men; they agree in thoſe truths, which form the harmony of the univerſe, that there is a Supreme Being, and that he is pleaſed by charity and good works.

The ſoldiers are commonly called Rajah poots, or perſons deſcended from Rajahs, and reſide chiefly in the northern provinces. They are generally more fair complexioned than the people of the ſouthern provinces, who are quite black.

Theſe Rajah poots are a robuſt, brave, faithful people, and enter into the ſervice of thoſe who will pay them; but when their leader falls in battle, they think that their engagements to him are finiſhed, and they run off the field without any ſtain upon their reputation.

The labourers are the farmers and all who are concerned in the cultivation of lands.

The mechanics are merchants, bankers, traders of all kinds, and are divided into many ſubordinations.

Theſe different tribes, ſays Mr. Scrafton, are forbid, to intermarry, to cohabit, to eat with each other, or even to drink out of the ſame veſſel with one of another tribe; and every deviation in thoſe points ſubjects them to be rejected by their tribe; renders them for ever polluted, and they are thence forward obliged to herd with the Hallochires, the refuge and out-caſt of the other tribes.

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diſavowed and deteſted by them all. This diviſion is attended with infinite inconveniencies, for excepting the Rajah Poots, no Gentoo thinks of defending himſelf, in caſe of invaſions, which when made from the ſea have been generally ſucceſsful. The ſame diviſion, however, has notwithſtanding all the convulſions of their government, and all their oppreſſions under the Mahometans, preſerved their manufactures amongſt them, which while the ſon can follow no other trade than that of his father, can never be loſt but by exterminating the people.

Different kinds of food are aſſigned to different tribes. The Bramins touch nothing that has life, the ſoldiers are permitted to eat veniſon, mutton and fiſh; the labourers and merchants live differently, according to their ſex and profeſſions, ſome of them being allowed to eat fiſh, but none of them animal food.

The practice of women burning themſelves, upon the death of their huſbands, is now diſuſed all over Indoſtan; and the Gentoos in general chuſe death by famine rather than pollute themſelves by eating a forbidden food, though they begin now to relax in the practice of their religious duties. The Gentoos are as careful of the cultivation of their lands, their public works and conveniencies as the Chineſe; and there ſcarcely is an inſtance of a robbery in all Indoſtan, though the diamond-merchants travel without defenſive weapons.

The temples or pagodas of the Gentoos, are ſtupendous but irregular ſtone buildings, erected in every capital, and under the tuition of the Bramins, if they are maſters of any uncommon art or

ſcience, they turn it to the purpoſe of profit from their ignorant votaries. Some of them know how to calculate eclipſes; and judicial aſtrology is ſo prevalent amongſt them, that half the year is taken up with unlucky days, the head aſtrologer being always conſulted in ther councils. The Mahometans likewiſe encourage thoſe ſuperſtitions, and look upon all the fruits of the Gentoo induſtry as belonging to themſelves. Though the Gentoos are entirely paſſive under all their oppreſſions, and by their ſtate of exiſtence, the practice of their religion and the ſcantineſs of their food, have nothing of that reſentment in their nature which animates the reſt of mankind; yet they are ſuſceptible of avarice, and ſometimes bury their money; and rather than diſcover it, put themſelves to death by poiſon or otherwiſe. This practice which it ſeems is not uncommon, accounts for the vaſt ſcarcity of ſilver that till of late prevailed in Indoſtan. The reaſons above-mentioned account likewiſe for their being free of all theſe paſſions, particularly that of love, and ſenſations that render the reſt of mankkind either happy or miſerable. Their perpetual uſe of rice, their chief food, gives them but little nouriſhment; and their marrying early, the males before fourteen, and their women at ten or eleven years of age; keeps them low and feeble in their perſons. A man is in the decline of life at thirty, and the beauty of women at eighteen; but at twenty-five they have all the marks of old age. We are not therefore to wonder at their being ſoon ſtrangers to all perſonal exertion and vigour of mind; and it is with them a frequent ſaying, that it is better to ſit than walk, to lie down than to

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ſit, to ſleep than wake, and death is the beſt of all.

The Mahometans, who in Indoſtan are called Moors, are of Perſian, Turkiſh, Arabic and other extractions. They early began, in the reigns of the Califs of Bagdad to invade Indoſtan. They penetrated as far as Delli, which they made their capital; they ſettled colonies in ſeveral places, whoſe deſcendants are now called Pytars; but their empire was overthrown by Tamerlane, who founded the Mogul government, which ſtill ſubſiſts. Thoſe princes being ſtrict Mahometans, received under their protection all who profeſſed the ſame religion, and who being a brave active people, counterbalanced the numbers of the natives. They are ſaid to have introduced the diviſion of provinces, over which they appointed Soubahs; and thoſe provinces, each of which might be ſtyled a great empire, were ſubdivided into nabobſhips, each nabob being immediately accountable to his Soubah, who in proceſs of time became almoſt independent on the emperor or the great Mogul, upon their paying him an annual tribute. The vaſt reſorts of Perſian and Tartar tribes, have likewiſe ſtrengthened the Mahometan government; but it is obſervable, that in two or three generations, the progeny of all theſe adventurers, who though they bring nothing with them but their horſes and their ſwords, degenerate into all eaſtern indolence and ſenſuality. They are void of every principle, even of their religion.

Of all theſe tribes, the Marattas at preſent make the greateſt figure. They are a kind of mercenaries, who live on the mountains between In-

Indoſtan and Perſia. They commonly ſerve on horſeback, and when well commanded, they have been known to give law even to the court of Delhi.

Though they are generally Gentoos, yet they are of a bold, active ſpirit, and pay no great reſpect to the principles of their own religion.

As the people of Indoſtan are governed by no written laws, their courts of juſtice are directed by precedents. The Mahometan inſtitutes prevail only in their great towns and their neighbourhood. The rent and taxes of all the landholders, are immutably fixed in the public books of each diſtrict. The Imperial demeſne lands are thoſe of the Great Rajah families, which fell to Tamerlane and his ſucceſſors. Certain portions of them are called jaghire lands, and are beſtowed by the crown on the great lords and Omrahs, and upon their death revert to the Emperor, but the rights of the ſubſtituents even of thoſe lands are indefeaſible.

Thus this great empire has long ſubſiſted without almoſt the ſemblance of virtue among its great officers, either civil or military.

The throne of the ſovereigns of Indoſtan was ſhaken, after the invaſion of Mahomet Shah, which was attended by ſo great a diminution of the imperial authority, that the Subahs and Nabobs became abſolute in their own governments. Though they could not alter the fundamental laws of property, yet they invented new taxes, which begared the people, to pay their own armies and ſupport their power; ſo that many of the people a few years ago, after being unmercifully plun-

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dered by collectors and tax maſters, were left to periſh through want. To ſum up the miſery of the inhabitants, thoſe Soubahs and Nabobs, and other Mahometan governors, employ the bramins and the Gentoos themſelves as the miniſters of their rapaciouſneſs and cruelty. The face of Indoſtan is entirely changed ſince the invaſion of Kouli Kan; the government properly conſiſts of a republic of ſovereigns, who endeavour to ſupport their tyranny and oppreſſion, by a military force, which their dominions, rich and fertile as they are, can ſcarcely maintain. As private aſſaſſinations and other murders are here committed with impunity, the people who know that they can be in no worſe ſtate, concern themſelves very little in the revolutions of government. To the above cauſes are owing the late and preſent ſucceſſes of the Engliſh in Indoſtan; and it is their intereſt to bring as ſoon at poſſible, that government back to its firſt principles, under the family of Tamerlane. Indeed moſt of the laſt territorial acquiſitions of the Eaſt India company have been gained from uſurpers and robbers. And their poſſeſſion of them though guarantied by the preſent Emperor, might afterwards be diſputed by ſome ſucceſsful invader.

In order to know the origin of the late revolutions at the court of Delli, which the Eaſt India company's ſervants, notwithſtanding their long reſidence in Indoſtan have related ſo differently, we muſt deduce the divers pretenſions of the ſucceſſors of Tamerlane, founded on conqueſt or conſanguinity. It is certain that this prince made a deep impreſſion upon this country and that the preſent em-

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peror pretends to reign in his right. His immediate deſcendants were magnificent and deſpotic princes, who committed a capital error in committing their provinces to rapacious governors, or to their own ſons, by which their empire was miſerably torn in pieces. At length the famous Arengzebe, though the youngeſt among many ſons of the reigning emperor, after defeating or murdering all his brethren, mounted the throne of Indoſtan in the year 1667; and may be conſidered as the real founder and legiſlator of the empire; he was a great and a politic prince, and the firſt who extended his dominions, though it was little better than nominal over the Peninſula, within the Ganges, which is at preſent ſo well known to the Engliſh. He lived ſo late as the year 1707, and ſome of his great officers of ſtate were alive twenty years ago. Aurengzebe, like his predeceſſors, ſeemed to have left too much power to the governors of his diſtant provinces, and to have neglected to prevent the effects of that dreadful deſpotiſm, which while in his hands preſerved the tranquility of his empire, but when it deſcended to his weak, indolent ſucceſſors, occaſioned its overthrow.

In 1713, four of his grandſons diſputed the empire, which after a bloody ſtruggle, fell to the eldeſt Mauzo'din, who took the name of Jehandar Shaw. This prince was a ſlave to his pleaſures, and was governed by his miſtreſs ſo abſolutely that his great omrahs, or counſellors conſpired againſt him, and raiſed to the throne one of his nephews, who ſtruck off his uncle's head. The new emperor whoſe name was Turrukhſir, was governed and at

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laſt enſlaved by two brothers of the name of Seyd, who abuſed his power ſo groſsly, that being afraid to puniſh them publicly, he ordered them both to be privately aſſaſſinated. They diſcovered his intention and dethroned the emperor, in whoſe place they raiſed a grandſon of Aurengzebe, by his daughter, a youth of ſeventeen years of age, after impriſoning and ſtrangling Turrukhſir. The young emperor proved diſagreeable to the brothers, and being ſoon poiſoned, they raiſed to the throne his elder brother who took the title of Shaw Jehan. The rajahs of Indoſtan, whoſe anceſtors had entered into ſtipulations, which may be called *pacta conventa*, when they admitted the Mogul family, took the field againſt the two brothers, but the latter were victorious, and Shaw Jehan was put in tranquil poſſeſſion of the empire. He died in 1719, and was ſucceeded by another prince of the Mogul race, who took the name of Mahommed Shaw, and entered into private meaſures with his great rajahs for deſtroying the Seyds, who were declared enemies to Nizam al Muluck, one of Aurengzeb's favourite generals. Nizam, it is ſaid was privately encouraged by the emperor to declare himſelf againſt the brothers, and to proclaim himſelf Soubah of Decan, which belonged to one of the Seyds, who was aſſaſſinated by the emperor's order, who immediately advanced to Delli, to deſtroy the other brother; but he no ſooner underſtood what had happened, than he proclaimed the ſultan Ibrahim, another of the Mogul princes, emperor. A battle enſued in 1720, in which Mahommed Shaw, was victorious, and is ſaid to have uſed his conqueſt with great moderation, for

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he remitted Ibrahim to the priſon from whence he had been taken; and Seyd being likewiſe a priſoner, was condemned to perpetual confinement, but the emperor took poſſeſſion of his vaſt riches. Seyd did not long ſurvive his confinement, and upon his death, the emperor abandoned himſelf to the ſame courſe of pleaſures that had been ſo fatal to his predeceſſors. As to Nizam he became now the great imperial general, and was often employed againſt the Marattas, whom he defeated when they had almoſt made themſelves maſters of Agra and Delli. He was confirmed in his ſoubahſhip of Decan, and was conſidered as the firſt ſubject in the empire. Authors, however, are divided as to his motives for inviting Kouli Khan, the Perſian conqueror to invade Indoſtan. It is thought that he had intelligence of a ſtrong party formed againſt him at court. The ſucceſs of Nadir Shaw is well known, and the immenſe treaſure which he carried from Indoſtan in 1739; ſome accounts ſtrongly authenticated, make it amount to the incredible ſum of two hundred and thirty-one millions ſterling, as mentioned by the London Gazette of thoſe times. The moſt moderate ſay that Nadir's own ſhare amounted to conſiderably above ſeventy millions; beſides thoſe treaſures he obliged the Mogul to ſurrender to him all the lands to the weſt of the rivers Attock and Synd, comprehending the provinces of Peyſhar, Kabul and Gagna; with many other rich and populous principalities, the whole of them almoſt equal in value to the crown of Perſia itſelf. This invaſion coſt the Gentoos two hundred thouſand lives; it may be conſidered as putting a period to the greatneſs of

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the Mogul empire in the houſe of Tamerlane. Upon the retreat of Nadir Shaw, who left the emperor in poſſeſſion of his dignity, the Patans invaded his dominions; and ſo treacherous were the emperor's generals and miniſters that none of them would head an army againſt them, till the emperor's ſon, a youth of eighteen years of age, bravely undertook the command, puniſhed the conſpiracy that had been formed againſt his father, and compleatly defeated the invaders. During this campaign the emperor was ſtrangled by his vizier, but by a courſe of well acted diſſimulation, the young emperor, who was called Shaw Amet, found means to put the conſpirators to death, but ſoon after was depoſed and ſucceeded by Allum Geer, this change was occaſioned by the following event: In 1754, the Mogul ſent Shaw Abaden Cawn, the ſon of Ganzedy Cawn, who had been appointed by the Mogul prince of the Decan, and chief Bucſhee, or treaſurer of the empire, at the head of 90,000 horſe, to ſuppreſs an irruption of the Raſh Poots, who are reckoned the beſt ſoldiers in Indoſtan. In this expedition he ſucceeded, but on his return to Delli, an uncle of his taking the advantage of his abſence, perſuaded the Mogul that he had always been his enemy, and intended making uſe of his army to dethrone him; the Mogul was the eaſier perſuaded, as the Bucſhee had obtained the poſt he enjoyed, more through power than favour, and had even ſpoke freely of the Mogul's diſſolute way of life, which was generally ſpent in debauchery; it was therefore agreed, that Shaw Abaden Cawn ſhould be put to death, but as they rightly judged it could not be done openly, the

following ſcheme was laid for the execution of their deſign.

The Mogul went to Delli, at the head of 25,000 horſe, in order, as he ſaid, to do honour to Shaw Abaden Cawn, and reward him for his ſervices. The Bucſhee having intelligence of all that paſſed, came readily to meet the Mogul; but brought with him 30,000 Marattas, who in caſe of any attempt were to protect him. The Mogul's party hearing that ſuch precautions were taken, not knowing what might be the conſequence, and afraid to offend a man ſo powerfully ſupported, diſbanded and returned to Delli, leaving their ſovereign almoſt without attendants, who therefore immediately followed his troops. Whether Shaw Abaden Cawn thought this a favourable opportunity to dethrone a man who was a ſcandal to the dignity of the throne; or whether it was the reſult of a premeditated deſign, he followed the Mogul, entered Delli and went immediately to the palace; where, after making his obeiſance, and ſitting down a little while at the durbar or council chamber with the Mogul, he ordered his people to ſeize on and impriſon him; he then aſſembled the Omrahs, placed on the throne Allum Geer, a near relation to the late Mogul. The depoſed prince according to the cruel policy of their government was immediately deprived of his ſight.

The Omrahs, or privy counſellors, are men of the firſt dignity and family in the Empire. They are under the Vizier, but are moſtly concerned in all the revolutions of the ſtate and commonly their intereſt elects and depoſes the Mogul.

In the beginning of the year 1757, Achmed Abdalla, the Patan's chief, marched to Delli, and took Allum Geer and all the Omrahs prisoners.

After having kept possession of the capital for some time, he at length, on the sixth of June, sent for the Mogul to his tent, where he received him with great honour, and replaced him on the throne, having first secured to himself as large treasure as could be expected from the low state of the finances of the empire. He then proceeded to Agra, and seizing the revenues of that district marched to Lahore, from whence he issued his orders to all the neighbouring nabobs and rajahs, that they should acknowledge themselves in subjection to his son Timur, whom he then proclaimed king of Lahore. Having thus invested his son with the dominion of a country, from whence he proposed he should also superintend the affairs of Indostan, he returned to his own country, recommending to Timur to treat the Mogul with continued marks of regard and friendship.

Shaw Abadin Cawn, the son of Gauzedy Cawn, and consequently the true Viceroy of the Decan, chose rather to have his right to be usurped by Salabat Zing, than relinquish the office of Vizier, which gave him so great an ascendency over the Mogul, and consequently an unbounded power in the empire. But as the authority of these eastern ministers are precarious, the sons of the Emperor became daily more formidable to the Vizier and created him continual trouble and jealousy. At length, towards the end of

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year 1759, to free himſelf from all ſolicitude of that kind, he reſolved on the murder of his maſter, in order that he might place in his ſtead a more conſiderable repreſentative of the royal family, who ſhould be leſs reſpectable in himſelf, and not ſo formidable by the ſupport of his children and other relations. As theſe were the great obſtacles to the ambition of the Vizier, they were no leſs to the execution of his preſent deſign. Therefore, to remove them from the capital, he propoſed a hunting match, and took with him the ſons of the Mogul, and the greateſt part of his friends to a great diſtance from Delli. The next difficulty was to overcome the ſuſpicions of the Mogul and the ſuperſtitious principles of the Moors, who though they are ready to execute any kind of villainy can never be brought to murder their ſovereign in the ſanctuary of his own palace. They are in general of the moſt deteſtable character, except a few Tartar and Perſian officers in the army; if they have the appearance of a virtue, it is that of hoſpitality. And yet whilſt they are drinking with, and embracing a friend they will ſtab him to the heart.

It was well known that Allum Geer had a moſt particular veneration for the ſect of the Fakeers. The reſpect paid to the numerous body of theſe worthleſs and inſolent beggars, is owing to the opinion of extraordinary ſanctity, which a few of this ſect acquire by the performance of certain ſingular and fantaſtical vows. At this time there is a Fakeer, who every day

rolls himſelf round the rock at Trichinopoly, which is a mile in circumference.

The vizier was ſenſible that unleſs the emperor could be prevailed on, by a motive of devotion, to come from under his roof, no other inducement could ever engage him to abandon what he would conſider as his only protection in the abſence of his friends. Every thing being concerted accordingly, before the departure of Shaw Abadin Cawn, the creatures of that miniſter came to the Mogul, and informed him that a Fakeer of moſt eminent ſanctity was in the garden, and though it was with great reluctance that the emperor yielded to the dictates of his zeal, he was at length by their perſuaſions, prevailed on to go out and meet this holy perſon, whom he had long expreſſed a deſire to ſee. He had not advanced many ſteps in the garden, when two Moors in the habit of Fakeers came ſuddenly behind him, put a nooſe about his neck, and then ſtabbed him with ſpears till he died on the ſpot.

As ſoon as the vizier was informed of the death of his maſter, he immediately confined the ſons and all the friends of Allum Geer, who were then with him and placing on the throne one of the royal family, whom the thought the moſt convenient for his purpoſes, went himſelf directly to join an army of Marattas, who were waiting for him about thirty miles from Delli.

It was not long before the Pattans equally diſpleaſed with the vizier for his conduct, and the Marattas for interfering in the government of Delli; marched a conſiderable force againſt them, and coming up with them at a place called Paniput, near

near a hundred miles from Delli, they killed the Maratta general, and put the army to flight, which retreated till they were joined by another body of their own troops; they were purſued by the Patans and routed again in another engagement.

Ahamed Abdalla, then entered Delli, and placed his ſon Timur, king of Lahore upon the throne; and orders were iſſued out to all the rajahs and governors in the neighbourhood to exert their utmoſt endeavours to prevent theMarattas from approaching the city. This ſlippery throne occupied by the degenerate progeny of Aurengzebe, or incautious and debauched uſurpers, who moſt of them periſhed by the villainous arts of their miniſters and favourites, ſhews that the Moguls are at this time little better than oſtenſible ſovereigns, with pompous and empty titles, whilſt their vice-roys and omrahs aſſume to themſelves an uncontrouled authority. We ſhall mention in the continuation of this work, the ſubſequent revolutions, which have at laſt obliged this proud and luxurious monarch to apply to the Eaſt India company for protection, whoſe intereſt it is to ſupport him, as his authority is the beſt legal guarantee of their ſettlements.

At the court of the Mogul, the great families are ambitious of intermarrying with Perſians and Tartars, on account of the fairneſs of their complexion, reſembling that of their conqueror Tamerlane, and his great generals. The complexion of the Gentoos is black, their hair long, and the features of both ſexes regular.

In regard to the climate of Indoſtan, the winds

winds generally blow for ſix months from the South, and ſix from the north. April, May, and the beginning of June, are exceſſively hot, but refreſhed by breezes: and in ſome dry ſeaſons the hurricanes which tear up the ſands and let them fall in dry ſhowers, are exceſſively diſagreeable.

To what I have ſaid of their religion and ſects, I have only to add, that the Fakeers who are a kind of mahometan mendicants and many of them impoſtors are computed to be eight hundred thouſand. Another ſet of beggars, are the Joghis, who are idolaters and ſuppoſed to be twelve millions in number, but all of them vagabonds, and lazy impoſtors, who live by amuſing the credulous Gentoos with fooliſh fictions. The Banians, who are ſo called from their affected innocence of life, ſerve as brokers and profeſs in part the Gentoo religion.

The Parſes of Indoſtan, are originally the Gaurs, who were baniſhed out of Perſia, by Shah Abbas; they are a moſt induſtrious people, particularly in weaving and architecture of every kind. They pretend to be poſſeſſed of the works of Zoroaſter, and called themſelves the diſciples and ſucceſſors of the ancient Magi. Some learned Europeans think the book they are in poſſeſſion of contain many particulars that would throw lights upon the ancient hiſtory, both ſacred and profane. This opinion is countenanced by the few parcels of thoſe books which have been publiſhed; others are of opinion, that the whole is a modern impoſture, founded upon ſacred traditions and profane hiſtories. It is certain, that the Magi

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and Zoroaſter held originally pure and ſimple ideas of a Supreme Being. The Indian Bramins accuſe the Geurs who ſtill worſhip the fire, of having ſenſualized thoſe ideas, and of introducing an evil principle into the government of the world.

A near acquaintance with Indoſtan manifeſts the precarious credit that is due to travellers who take a ſlight ſurvey of diſtant countries. And indeed we have received very little information in regard to the few fragments of learning in that empire, from the civil and military ſervants of the company who ſeemed to have never been diveſted from a ſordid purſuit after riches, by liberal inquiry into the ſtate of arts and ſciences of a people, who tho' ſunk into voluptuouſneſs and effeminacy, ſtill preſerve latent ſparks of uſeful knowledge. If our modern conquerors of the eaſt returned home like the Roman generals, loaded with the ſpoils of the vanquiſhed, they cannot boaſt like them of having been tutored by Mars and Minerva.

The nobility and people of rank in Indoſtan delight in hunting with the bow as well as the gun, and often train the Leopards to the ſports of the field. They are fond of tumblers, mountebanks and juglers, and of barbarous muſic, both in wing and ſtring inſtruments. Though the inſides of houſes belonging to principal perſons, are commonly neat, commodious, pleaſant, and many of them magnificient they make no appearance. Thoſe of the commonalty are poor, mean and generally thatched, moſt of the manufacturers chuſe to work in the open air.

The Mahometan merchants of the weſtern parts of this empire carry on a conſiderable trade with Mecca in Arabia. This trade is carried on, in a particular ſpecies of veſſels called junks, the largeſt of which beſides their cargoes, will carry ſeventeen hundred Mahometan pilgrims to viſit the tomb of their prophet. At Mecca they meet with Abyſſinian, Egyptian, and other traders, to whom they diſpoſe of their cargoes for gold and ſilver, ſo that a mahometan junk returning from this voyage is often worth 200,000 l. In all handicraft trades that the people of Indoſtan underſtand, they are more induſtrious and better workmen than the Europeans; in weaving, ſewing, embroidering, and ſome other manufactures, the Indians do as much work with their feet as the Europeans. Their painting, though they are ignorant of drawing, is amazingly vivid in its colours. The fineneſs of their linen, and their fillagree work in gold and ſilver, are beyond any thing of this kind to be found in other parts of the world.

It is more than probable that the Ægyptians, the nation from which the Greeks and Romans drew the fine arts, owed them to the Bramins and the Gentoos. The names however of the legiſlators and learned men, who diſſeminated the arts of civilization among the Indians, are obſcured by impenetrable clouds of allegory. Still the empire of Indoſtan contains men of the moſt unſpotted lives, and profound knowledge of all the original Bramin theology, morality, and civil conſtitutions. Such men are hard to be diſcovered, but when acceſſible, they are modeſt and communicative in all branches of their learning, but thoſe in which

they are enjoined an inviolable ſecret; and we have ſome well atteſted inſtances, where they have ſuffered death rather than betray their ſecrets, which are hereditary in their families.

The language of the court of Delli is Perſian. Since the late revolutions, ſeveral provinces have been diſmembered from that empire. The principal provinces ſubject to the Mogul's dominion are, Guzarat a maritime province on the gulph of Cambaya, and one of the fineſt in India, but inhabited by a fierce rapacious people. It is ſaid to contain thirty-five cities. Amadabad is the capital of the province, which is ſaid to vie in wealth with the richeſt towns in Europe. There and at Surat forty leagues diſtant the Engliſh have flouriſhing factories.

The province of Agra, is the largeſt in all Indoſtan, containing forty large towns, and three hundred and forty villages. Agra is the greateſt city, and its caſtle the largeſt fortification in all the Indies. The Dutch have a factory there.

The city of Delli, the capital of that province and of all Indoſtan, is a fine, populous and opulent city. The imperial palace more extenſive than ſtately and commodious; is furniſhed with the uſual magnificence of the eaſt; its ſtables formerly contained twelve thouſand horſes brought from Arabia, Perſia, and Tartary, [illegible] five hundred elephants. When the forage is burnt up by the heats of the ſeaſon, as is often the caſe, theſe horſes are fed in the morning with bread, butter and ſugar, and in the evening with rice-milk, properly prepared.

Tatta, the capital of Sind, is a large city; the plague which happened there in 1699, carried off

off above eighty thouſand of its manufacturers in ſilk and cotton. It is ſtill famous for the manufacture of palanquins, a bed, ſupported by a wooden or ivory frame of ſix feet long, and near three feet broad, faſtened at each end with croſs ſticks to a bamboo fifteen feet long, which forms an arch over the palanquin, and is covered with a canopy of cloth lined with ſilk, and ſtiffened with ribs of the coconut-tree. The Europeans as well as natives, all over India repoſe on thoſe canopied couches when they appear abroad. They are carried by four men, who will trot along, morning and evening, forty miles a day, ten being uſually hired, who carry the palanquin by turns, four at a time. Though a palanquin is dear at firſt coſt, yet the porters may be hired for ten ſhillings a month each, out of which they maintain themſelves. The Indus at Tatta, is about a mile broad and famous for its fine carp.

Though the province of Multan is not very fruitful yet it yields excellent iron and canes; and the inhabitants by their ſituation are enabled to deal with the Perſians and Tartars yearly for above ſixty thouſand horſes.

The province of Caſſimere, being ſurrounded with mountains, is difficult of acceſs, but when entered, it appears [illegible] the paradiſe of the Indies; it is ſaid to contain a hundred thouſand villages, to be ſtored with cattle and game without any beaſts of prey. The capital, Caſſimere ſtands by a large lake; and both ſexes, the women eſpecially, are almoſt as fair as the Europeans, and are ſaid to be witty and dexterous.

The province and city of Lahor formerly made

a great figure in the Indian hiſtory, and is ſtill one of the largeſt and faireſt provinces in the Indies, producing the beſt ſugar in Indoſtan. Its capital was once about nine miles long, but is now much decayed.

The provinces of Agud, Varad, Bekar and Hallabas, are inhabited by a hardy race of men, who have never been conquered, and though they acknowledged the ſuperiority of the moguls, live in an eaſy independent ſtate. In ſome of thoſe provinces, many of the European fruits, plants and flowers thrive as in their native ſoil.

After this general review of the mogul empire, it is requiſite for the explanation of the affairs in the Peninſula, to give as many particulars of the Marattas, as can be aſcertained. This extenſive people have had always a conſiderable ſhare in the diſturbances, and taken a large part in the politics of theſe countries. As they have no written hiſtory, and ſcarce any tradition, it is difficult to procure a full and ſatisfactory account of ſo numerous a nation, once ſettled, then diſperſed, and now re-eſtabliſhing themſelves throughout all parts of the mogul's empire. Tho' they ſtill poſſeſs part of their ſettlements to the north of Delli, great numbers were driven out from thence by Aurengzeb, who employed above twenty years in fruitleſs endeavours to reduce them in their new ſettlements in the mountainous parts of the Deckan.

They have had continued wars ever ſince, with all the mogul's ſubahs and governors, and made innumerable treaties with them, which they obſerve no longer, than they think it their intereſt; they have themſelves had ſtrange internal revolutions and

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what is moſt extraordinary the leading men amongſt them are Bramins or Prieſts, hated by the true Marattas, but followed by them for pay.

Their rajah or prince is ſacred; and they hold that he ought to be a kind of idol, ſhut up and fed at the public expence, and the executive power lodged in ſome other branch of his family, at leaſt ſuch has been the eſtabliſhment on the Malabar coaſt; but this was ſubverted by the uſurpation of two bramins who eſtabliſhed themſelves by force of arms at Guzarat and the country to the ſouthward. The acting head of the government and general of the forces is diſtinguiſhed on the Malabar coaſt, by the title of Nanna. The reſidence of the bramin, their ſovereign is Poona, about a hundred miles eaſt ſouth eaſt of Bombay, there all the buſineſs of the government is carried on. Every raja or governor in the Mogul's empire pays them a chout or tribute of a fourth of his revenues This they collect part in ready money, leaving the balance in arrear, which ſerves them as a pretence for another incurſion, whenever they want employment for their troops.

An inſtance of theſe Bramins infatuation and barbarity, is that ſtrict obſervers as they are of the Gentoo religion, and the tenets of the tranſmigration of ſouls, the[illegible]e ſcruple of killing the moſt offenſive anim[illegible]s, though they eagerly employ their ſabres to the deſtruction of their fellow creatures: the ſalvo for this extraordinary contradiction, is a device of their prieſts, who by the ſacrifice of a buffalo, with many myſteries and frantic ceremonies, abſolve their warriors from the reſtrictions which bind the vulgar.

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Theſe Marattas were only a body of horſe, free-booters, who alternately took the pay of the higheſt bidder, they were ſuch as Mararow, one of the commanders in the army of Nazirzing viceroy of the Decan, had picked up to follow his fortunes, and till he attempted to make himſelf independent, they had no ſettled habitation, and no profeſſion but war. They have neither art nor diſcipline, and yet they are formidable to the Moors, who carrying ſuch numerous and incumbered armies to the field, are the eaſier harraſſed and even ſtarved by them. For theſe pillagers, continually galloping round the country, cut off the convoys, and as moſt of their parties carry with them, neither baggage nor proviſions, they eaſily elude all purſuit, and in an inſtant retire to their ſtrong holds. They ride hardy horſes inured to fatigue, moſt part fed with ſtanding corn. The common men have no other cloathing but a turban on their head, and a ſaſh round their waiſt. Inſtead of a ſaddle, they uſe ſuch a kind of pad, as is recommended by marſhal Saxe, truly formidable with their ſabres, they are fatal to troops that are once broke.

Theſe mercileſs ravagers ſupply the want of trade and manufactures, by the contributions which they raiſe upon the moſt wealthy neighbouring powers, who rather ſubmit to be [illegible]y to them, than to maintain ſtanding armi[illegible] to free themſelves from theſe ravenous foes. What prevents their chiefs from laying waſte the country with their armies, is the conſideration of their own intereſt, as a territory ravaged by their troops, could produce neither tribute nor plunder again for ſome time.

They are deſtructive foes, and unſerviceable [illegible]ends,

friends, they ruin their enemies by burning their country, and their allies by their avaricious demands for money; inſtead of meriting their pay, which they might eaſily do after a defeat, by cutting off all the broken troops, they fly to the camp, where every man procures a good burden for his horſe, and walking on foot drives him away loaded with the ſpoil. They have of late years entertained various deſigns of extending their territories in ſeveral parts of the country, and alſo on the ſea coaſt. Some of their generals, have ſet up for themſelves in the remote countries they have conquered, and given ſome other indications of their return from a vagabond life of rapine and diſorder, to a more ſettled ſyſtem of policy; they took in the laſt war large diſtricts from the viceroy of Decan, marched to Delli and made a Mogul. They have been a great check upon the Mooriſh government, and it is owing to their arms alone that theMahometans have been prevented from the uſurpation of the whole peninſula. As the Moors are a luxurious people, in a few years of peace they grow enervated by their debaucheries, and ſoon degenerate into ſloth and effeminacy; a general corruption of manners and the mutual jealouſy, diſtruſt and treachery of their princes, would make them an eaſy prey to the Marattas, ſhould they take the reſolution to expel them the country, and though there is not a governor, in the higheſt rank of power and independency, but ſtiles himſelf daily the ſlave of the mogul, there is not one of them in the whole empire that pays the leaſt regard to the ſolemn orders of that monarch, or that will march his troops to quell any dangerous commotion,

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or ſtir for the preſervation of the life of his maſter.

The only balance to the power of the Marattas, is a race of northern people, inhabiting the mountains of Candahar commonly known in India by the name of Pattans and conquered Iſphahan in the year 1722. They are Mahomettans, yet no leſs enemies to the Mooriſh government than the Marattas and other Indians they are ſaid to have been deſcended from an ancient colony of Arabians, who entered the country four hundred years before Tamerlane, and built the city of Maſſulipatam on the coaſt of Coromandel; from thence extending their conqueſts northward, they founded Patna in Bengal, and at laſt over-ran the whole country to the weſt, and were maſters of Delli when Tamerlane firſt appeared in India. They were always reckoned good ſoldiers, and are now conſidered as the very beſt infantry in the whole empire.

Now that we have given the reader the neceſſary intelligence relative to Indoſtan, where lord Clive is ſoon to appear in the plenitude of his glory and power, we ſhall gratify the curioſity of the public in regard to ſome anecdotes of his private life in England, and in his excurſions to the continent. Notwithſtanding the noble lord boaſted of his zeal and diſintereſtedneſs in ſerving the Eaſt India company, it was undoubtedly to retrieve his fortune, conſiderably impaired by the immenſe ſums he had ſpent in elections to make himſelf a party in the houſe of commons with his relations, friends and dependents; to become a man of conſequence by the acquiſition of a conſiderable

ſiderable landed intereſt in Shropſhire, and to indulge the luxurious fancies of an eaſtern potentate, that his creatures, at the preceeding meetings of the Eaſt India proprietors, had ſollicited and obtained for him the ſupreme command in their ſettlements. He was near reduced to the income of his jaghire, and a nobleman of his aſpiring views could not be ſatisfied of an income limited at thirty thouſand pounds a year.

Whilſt his military fame was confined to his native country, the rapid fortune he had made in India was even magnified in France, by thoſe of that nation who had ſerved on the coaſt of Coromandel. Lord Clive had nothing to qualify him to pleaſe the French, but his money. His reſervedneſs could not agree with their levity, and the diſtance he kept them at by *un ſerieux a glacer* was incompatible with the freedom of their manners. He ſpoke French with repugnance and difficulty, and was unacquainted with the delicacy of the language ſo neceſſary with the French ladies. He made his appearance at Paris with ſome eclat in the winter of the year 1763. His equipage was ſplendid, his attendants numerous, and his livery magnificent. He viſited the Britiſh ambaſſador, as it became a man of his rank and his importance; ſome French gentlemen who had been in India, and the moſt diſtinguiſhed among his countrymen. The firſt time he went to the opera he was examined *des pieds juſque la tete*, by the French *petits maitres*, the ladies, *du bon ton* and all the nice judges of dreſs and manners: they obſerved that his lordſhip dreſſed richly, but without taſte, and paſſed condemnation on his peruke-

maker and his taylor: they found fault with his *air embaraſſé*, and ſaid he wanted to be a year or two in the hands of Mr. De Lor, a celebrated dancing-maſter, to preſent himſelf with grace, and acquire that genteel, eaſy carriage, ſo much noticed by the French. Whether lord Clive had been informed of this converſation, or thought himſelf deficient in point of bodily grace and agility, he really learned dancing all the time he remained at Paris, as he had done in England. Notwithſtanding theſe little blemiſhes, the French ladies who are paſſionately fond of an opulent lover, vied with each other in ogling lord Clive, and playing off all their charms and coquetry.

Lord Clive viſited at Paris and the environs, whatever was conducive to his curioſity and entertainment. The late king of France who ſeldom ſpoke to foreigners except in his hunting parties, took particular notice of him when he was preſented at Fontainebleau, and aſked him ſeveral queſtions about Bengal and Indoſtan, which lord Clive anſwered to his majeſty's ſeeming ſatisfaction. The king ſaid afterwards to the count de Noailles, "This the moſt fortunate officer of "the age, Buſſy is ſuch, but this has the advan-"tage over him of having been always ſucceſs-"ful."

Lord Clive was not ſo much taken with the curioſities as art of the French metropolis, as to overlook thoſe of nature. He had ſeen ſome French ladies, with whom he wiſhed to have had ſome intrigues: but he was not yet rid of that *mauvaiſe honte* which is particularly remarkable in Engliſhmen. One madam d'E——s,

young, ſprightly and beautiful, whoſe paſſion for gaming and other extravagancies required more conſtant ſupplies, than the fortune of her polite huſband could afford, raiſed occaſional contributions on the foreigners of diſtinction, who reſorted to Paris. She contrived to be placed one day, at the play, in a box adjoining to that of lord Clive. He was ſmitten with her genteel appearance and beauty, but he deferred to declare himſelf openly, till he was informed of the ladies rank and connections. He learned that ſhe was a perſon of diſtinction, married to a gentleman who laid no reſtraint upon her inclinations, as he indulged himſelf his taſte in promiſcuous amours; as far as this, he was pleaſed with an account which promiſed him ſucceſs; but when he heard from another part, that ſhe had had ſeveral gallantries, and that her houſe was a ſort of academy for gaming, he thought ſuch a connection might be dangerous and diſgraceful, and reſolved to efface the firſt impreſſion her charms had made upon him, by an intimacy with ſome other lady, more worthy of his attachment. The next time madam d'E———s ſaw his lordſhip was on the bulwarks, where both of them were taking an airing in their reſpective carriages. He ſpoke to her with civility, but after they had exchanged a few compliments, he took leave of her with an air of indifference, which had damped the expectations of a woman of leſs ſkill and ſpirit. She had enquired particularly into his lordſhip's diſpoſition and character, and heard from one of his particular acquaintances, that he had declared he ſhould be guarded at Paris againſt the arts of a coquette, and the ſnares of a

female gameſter. She judged from this report, that ſhe muſt have been repreſented to him as a woman guilty of theſe faſhionable vices, and reſolved to take the firſt opportunity to inſpire him with a more favourable opinion of her.

One Sunday evening lord Clive walking in the Thuilleries, perceived her ſitting on a bench with a gentleman and a lady. As he had not yet ſeen in Paris any woman whom he thought ſuperior to her in wit and beauty, he could not reſiſt the propenſity of joining her, and parted with his company. After a mutual intercourſe of civilities he ſat by her, and ſhe took occaſion of the fine evening which had invited her to take a walk. To expreſs her ſurprize in ſeeing ſo few women of faſhion taking the benefit of the air, and to cenſure the univerſal paſſion for gaming amongſt perſons of quality, which was deſtructive of all ſocial pleaſures and mutual entertainments. "As for my "part, (added ſhe,) I have very much againſt my "inclination, been prevailed upon, to yield to "this torrent; but however ſingular I may ap"pear for the future, I am determined to refuſe "admittance into my houſe, to all perſons whom "I have before indulged in gratifying a paſſion "ſo detrimental to women's health and reputa"tion. You are no longer miſtreſs of your houſe "when once gameſters have taken poſſeſſion of "it; and men think themſelves authoriſed to "take liberties with women who play high. I "know that many women have been accuſed of "intimany with young fops, though they never "have had any other intercourſe with them but "at quinze and lanſquenet." Whether lord Clive

was

was doubtful of this lady's reformation, or upon a ſecond reflection thought an *affaire arrangee* with her might have diſagreeable conſequences, he did not ſeem anxious to ſee her afterwards. Near a fortnight had been elapſed ſince he ſaw her laſt, when he received this extraordinary letter, which was afterwards made public by her huſband at *Paris*. This is an exact tranſlation of the ſame.

" My lord,

" Of all things I hate ſuſpence and uncertainty; though you declined the invitation I gave you at my houſe, you gave me hopes to ſee you in a few days after our accidental meeting in the Thuilleries. It is more than fourteen days ſince you have made your appearance at the ſpectacles, or on the bulwarks: if you think me a dangerous woman, though perhaps that opinion may flatter my vanity, in regard to my perſon, as it implies an injurious ſuſpicion of my ſentiments and my principles, it really makes me apprehenſive that you rank me in the claſs of a deſigning coquet, a character which I truly abhor. I ſhould not, like your eaſtern women, deſire the embraces of a proud imperious Sultan, who have ſunk our ſex into the moſt wretched ſtate of contempt and humiliation; nor like your married ladies in England, boaſt of that female virtue, chaſtity, which they look upon as a diſpenſation of more eſſential obligations. Our education in France is different from other countries; we are ſhut up in a convent, till our parents think proper to redeem us from a ſtate of captivity, and to match us with a man, whom perhaps

haps we have never ſeen. If marriage in France is a ſtate of freedom, we think we have an undoubted right to chuſe the man we love, inſtead of the huſband who has been allotted us without our conſent and inclination; if we have frailties incident to human nature, we are capable of generous ſentiments and noble actions. My huſband, like men of faſhion, does not expect from me an inviolable fidelity, provided he is not an eye witneſs of what you call in England your diſhonour; he never diſturbs me in any *tete a tete*. I am neither proud nor diſſolute, but when once I have ſet my fancy upon a man, I muſt have him. You ſee, my lord, I am very candid; and after this open declaration, you cannot ſay that I intend to beguile you. As I am not uſed to be ſlighted I expect an anſwer immediately. And am, with great regard,

P. S. Excuſe the omiſſion of my name.

My lord,

The only woman you can love.

Lord Clive could not but be ſurpriſed at the peruſal of this extraordinary epiſtle, though he did not think proper to anſwer it: leaſt the lady ſhould think herſelf neglected and deſpiſed, he ſent his compliments to her by a livery ſervant, and acquainted her, that if convenient, he ſhould wait upon her at the opera on a fixed day. He ſat in her box during all this tedious and montoone concert, and they ſeemed ſo happy with each other, that they gave very little attention to the performers.

Though

Though the lady intended at firſt to make lord Clive her property, and to indulge at his expences her paſſion for gaming, reſerving to herſelf the privilege of a favourite; after he had made his propoſals, and given her three days to conſider whether they were agreeable to her, and if ſhe thought ſhe could fulfil the engagements he required; the conditions on both ſides were punctually performed. Madame E—— s, promiſed to keep no longer a gaming houſe, and to diſcharge from future attendance at her toilet and private parties all her former acquaintances of the maſculine gender, on lord Clive paying for her pin-money a thouſand *louis d'ors* per quarter. Now they appeared together at all public places happy and unmoleſted; even the lady's husband ſhewed at his houſe all poſſible reſpect to his noble gueſt, and aſſured him he was infinitely obliged to his lordſhip, for the honour he did him, to take the moſt tender care of his wife. He ſpoke as he thought, for jealouſy is a ridicule that a man of quality is more afraid to be expoſed to, than that incurred by any other paſſion. A ſenſible well-bred man never ought to believe that his wife is faithleſs till he ſees it, and then he muſt have ſatisfaction for the injury. Lord Clive was not acquainted with this punctilio; he had free acceſs, ingreſs and regreſs to and from the ladies apartment without interruption, even when the polite husband was at home; ſo that he could not foreſee that any diſagreeable conſequence could follow the ſweets of his enjoyment.

The lady who was as regular in the performance of her religious duties, as ſhe was exact to the

the appointments of her noble lover (according to the maxims of the French women, who conciliate their ſecret pleaſures with public acts of devotions) went to maſs every Sunday preciſely at twelve o'clock. She had come home the night before indiſpoſed with a violent cough; my lord, againſt his cuſtom paid her a morning viſit to inquire after her health; the porter of the houſe who ſaw him go in and out at all times of the day, thought he had the ſame privilege at this unuſual hour, as her husband laid in a ſeparate apartment, and was ſtill in his bed: he was uſed to waſh himſelf as ſoon as he was up with ſome ſcented water, and finding none in his room, he went to the apartment of his lady, whom he thought was gone to maſs; the lovers had not took the precaution to ſhut the door, and the husband who would have knocked had he ſuppoſed they were there, opened it abruptly, and had an occular demonſtration of a thing he knew long while before, but that he was unwilling to ſee. "Oh! ſaid he coolly, I did "not know you were there, otherwiſe you may be "certain I ſhould not have diſturbed you; but as "the devil will have it ſo, I beg my lord, you "will dreſs you immediately, and favour me "with a moment of converſation below." The lady who had not been in the leaſt diſconcerted, told his lordſhip, that though her husband was a man of ſpirit and untainted honour, yet ſhe hoped the affair would be made up with her mediation. My lord like a true hero, protected by the kind goddeſs, met face to face his old friend, more vexed at the diſcovery, than angry with my lord! he received him with the greateſt civility, and having

having offered a ſeat to him, he ſpoke in the following manner.

" As a nobleman of a military profeſſion, you " are, no doubt, perfectly acquainted with the " laws of honour, and I dare ſay you have always " ſtrictly adhered to them. In France we do not " think our honour depends of our wives fidelity, " for in that caſe few men of faſhion in this realm " would be reputed honourable. We allow women " to indulge their fancies and ſecret inclinations, as " we do our own; but then we ſuppoſe they will " have ſenſe and diſcretion enough to hide from " the ſight of their husbands the favours they grant " to their lovers. My wife and I have till this " very day lived in the greateſt friendſhip and " harmony, and I hope we ſhall continue on the " ſame footing, as our affection is grounded on " mutual eſteem; not a mere gratification of the " ſenſes, which is very different from true love. " She knows my delicacy, and I am perſuaded of " her attachment to me; but I condemn her for " having neglected this morning to bolt her apart- " ment, as I might have ſent a ſervant to fetch " what I wanted, which had been ten times worſe. " Now my lord, I ſhould not praiſe myſelf, but " I am reckoned amongſt all my acquaintances a " man of courage, ſkilful in the art of fencing, " and I am obliged to aſk ſatisfaction, for having " ſeen you fill my place in my own houſe, which " no man of ſpirit muſt ſuffer with impunity, by " the laws of chivalry: indeed the offence is not " of a nature to be revenged by the death of my " adverſary as a blow, or ſome public affront; it " is ſufficient if I draw from your lordſhip three

"or four drops of your noble blood: I am ſure "the tribunal of the marſhals of France, which "takes cognizance of all the affairs of honour, "could not ſettle this point upon a more equitable "footing: I hope we ſhall be afterwards better "friends than ever, and that you will continue to "honour madam with the ſame attention. My "lord, like a man of tried courage, accepted this "rational challenge, and whilſt the two champions "were going to draw their ſwords, the lady came "in, and deſired to ſpeak a few words to her huſ-"band. Oh madam, (ſaid he,) you are very "forgetful, and I deſire you to take for the fu-"ture ſuch meaſures that I ſhall not be obliged "to have ſuch a diſagreeable eclairciſſement." "I "beg your pardon, anſwered ſhe, I confeſs I "am in the wrong, depend upon it like a good "general, I ſhall take care that you never will "ſurpriſe me again. As ſhe had been the prin-"cipal party concerned, ſhe begged to be wit-"neſs of the reparation." Mr. E——s having deſired my lord to be upon his guard, made a paſs at him, and wounded him with an admirable dexterity; after which they embraced each other moſt cordially, and the lady having been ſatisfied that the ſword had not penetrated farther than the epidermis, they all three ſpent the day in mirth and convivial feſtivity.

After this affair had been ſettled to the honour and ſatisfaction of all parties concerned, Mr. E—s, whoſe finances were much *derangees*, thought he had a fair opportunity on the ſtrengthening his alliance and friendſhip with the noble lord, to make for himſelf ſome advantageous ſtipulations at the ſame time

time that he enlarged the privileges of this illuſtrious auxiliary. It was agreed between them, that my lord ſhould have an apartment in the houſe of his moſt obliging friend, that had a communication with the lady's dreſſing-room, in order to avoid for the future, all interruption and unſeaſonable viſits; and the husband engaged never to enter his lady's bed-chamber as long as his noble gueſt ſhould remain under his roof on receiving the moderate ſum of twelve hundred *louis d'ors* as an equivalent for the property he had transferred to his ally. The articles were exchanged, *bona fide*, and though they were both ſatisfied, the husband thought he had the better of the bargain.

As the lady had honourably given up all her admirers for this moſt uſeful lover, ſome of them whoſe jealouſy and vanity had been nettled by her fidelity *a toute epreuve*, to our modern creſus, made particular enquiries concerning his origin, his education and all the circumſtances which had preceded his riſe and fortune in the Eaſt-India company's ſervice. Whoever is acquainted with the national prejudices of the French, knows that the nobility and gentry heartily deſpiſe all mercantile profeſſions, and that a gentleman's education in France conſiſts chiefly in fencing, dancing, riding the great horſe, and thoſe exerciſes which make them ſo remarkably nimble and graceful. The reſentment of one Mr. Burton, a gentleman who had been educated at Dr. Sterling's ſchool at Hamſted, in Hertfordſhire, for the ungracious reception he had met with from lord Clives who was a little while at the ſame ſemi-

nary, concurred to make public the noble lord's parentage and firſt ſetting out into the world. It was ſoon propagated all over Paris, that Mr. Richard Clive a *procureur* of Styche, near Drayton, in the county of Salop, was the father of our hero, who indeed had the honour of being related to Sir Edward Clive, one of the judges of the court of Common-pleas: that without having received even the elements of a liberal education, he had been ſent as a writer in the Eaſt-India company's ſervice to Madras, towards the cloſe of the war 1741. That he ſeemed more calculated for a counting-houſe than for the camp: that war being at that time more cultivated in India than commerce, the young clerk had took that favourable opportunity of exchanging his pen for a pair of colours. In anſwer to all theſe illiberal, though true reflections, ſome of lord Clive's friends gave out that he had diſtinguiſhed himſelf as early as the ſiege of Pondicherry, with admiral Boſcawen, in 1748, being then an enſign in the company's troops, and that on the firſt of September, when the French were repulſed in a ſally with a conſiderable loſs, captain Brown, who defended the ſecond trench being mortally wounded, his poſt was afterwards gallantly ſuſtained by enſign Clive. All his other exploits in India were enumerated, and the character given him by that excellent officer major Lawrence, from whom lord Clive acknowledged that he learnt the art of war was publiſhed; and that we ſhould not ſeem to detract of his merit, we will inſert it here.

"Captain Clive is a man of undaunted reſo-
"lution, of a cool temper, and a preſence of
"mind,

" mind, which never left him in the greateſt daſ-
" ger. Born a ſoldier; for without any military
" education of any ſort, or much converſing with
" any of the profeſſion, from his judgment and
" good ſenſe, he led an army like an experienced
" officer and brave ſoldier, with a prudence that
" warranted ſucceſs. This young man's early
" genius, continued the major, ſurpriſed and en-
" gaged my attention, as well before as at the
" ſiege of Devi-Cottah, where he behaved in
" courage and judgment, much beyond what
" could be expected from his years, and his ſuc-
" ceſs afterwards confirmed what I had ſaid to
" many people concerning him."

Notwithſtanding this elogium, and the advantages he had had over the French when he took Arcot with his officers who were chiefly writers, and other ſervants of the company, never before employed in a military capacity: they ſtill deſpiſed their conqueror, eſpecially for having re-aſſumed, for ſome time, his mercantile profeſſion. After he had ſignalized himſelf as an officer, they reflected with equal bitterneſs and malice on his conduct, when he acted as commiſſary of the army in the expedition of 1750, againſt Chundaſaib the uſurping Nabob of Arcot, and upon the panic which had ſeized captain Dalton and lieutenant Clive with their battalion, when Mahomed Ally Cawn their ally, was defeated by Chundaſaib near Volconda. They condemned ſeverely his imprudence for having been ſurpriſed at his return from Verdachellum to Fort St. David's with ſome ſervants and ſeapoys, and obſerved, that if he had not had the good luck to ſave himſelf by the

ſwift-

ſwiftneſs of his horſe from a ſmall party of cavalry, of a neighbouring polygar, who purſued him ſeveral miles, he would never have been able to retrieve his reputation as a ſoldier; they added, that captain Clive having made a ſally to drive the French, who attempted to regain Arcot with Chundaſaib their ally, perceived a ſeapoy from a window, levelling his piece at him retired precipitately, without acquainting lieutenant Finwith of the danger; in conſequence of which, this gallant officer was ſhot dead. They inveighed ſeverely againſt his pride and arrogance, when he was governor of Fort St. David; and as he had been honoured by the Mogul with the dignity of an Omrah of the empire. After the battle of Plaſſey, his entering Muxadabad in the triumphal manner of a roman conqueror, the 24th of June 1757, was deſcribed with the moſt poignant ſatyr and infinite humour. Though he affected to deſpiſe all theſe railleries and ſcurrilities, yet he was inwardly mortified at this ungenerous treatment, from a polite and civilized nation. He quitted Paris abruptly, to the unutterable ſorrow of his Pelenope and her obſequious husband. Before he returned to England he went to Spa, where he diſplayed all the Aſiatic pomp and pageantry, to the great mortification of the proud and needy German princes, who as they could not vie with him in opulence, affected to humble him on all occaſions, by the precedency they aſſumed in conſequence of their pedigree.

As there were ſeveral officers who had a diſtinguiſhed command in the laſt war in Germany, they naturally brought into the converſation, the amazing ſucceſs of the Engliſh, their allies in all parts

parts of the globe, and in particular the Eaſt Indies, where lord Clive had ben an actor ſo conſpicuous. This gave occaſion to ſome eclairiſſements on his warlike exploits, and the great fame he had acquired amongſt his countrymen. The noble lord who was ſenſible of all the advantages of the German military ſkill and diſcipline, eluded commonly troubleſome queſtions upon that ſubject. "A Pruſſian officer of ſome note told him one day "from the little knowledge I have acquired of the "genius, manners, diet and unexperience in "military affairs, of the people of Indoſtan, I "would engage at the head of three battalions of "the troops of the king my maſter, with a com-"pany of artillery, to conquer that mighty em-"pire, were not diſciplined Europeans to inter-"fere in the conteſt." You are very much miſtaken, ſir, anſwered lord Clive; well, replied the officer, "I wiſh I had the trial, as I am confident I "ſhould return ſoon to Europe richer than any "Britiſh ſubject who ever went thither." This was intimating a very mean opinion of the conqueſts of the noble lord, and he looked upon ſuch declarations as ſamples of the German bluntneſs and Gothic impertinence.

Lord Clive experienced daily that though immenſe wealth will have its ſway in a commercial nation, it was not the caſe in military governments, where the nobleſſe deſigned for the moſt honorary commands in the army, took always upon a ſoldier of fortune as an invader of their rights and privileges. It was natural for a man uſed to homage, who had been courted by Nabobs, and the Mogul himſelf, to wiſh to appear again before the ſovereigns

ſovereigns of the Eaſt, with that ſupreme military command, and theſe additional titles, and honours, which alone command reſpect amongſt the Aſiatics. We have ſeen how at his return into England from this laſt trip to France and to Spa, he had contrived to perſuade the proprietors of the Eaſt India Company, that he was the only man who could retrieve their deſperate affairs in Bengal. Being intruſted abroad with full powers civil and military, and preferred to the rank of major general, he ſet ſail for India in the Kent, June 4, 1764, accompanied with ſeveral other officers. The ſeaſon being ſo far advanced, his lordſhip had the misfortune to loſe his paſſage, having met with a violent gale of wind, in which the ſhip loſt her maſt off Rio da Janerio.

During his lordſhip's voyage, by the Albany Indiaman, who had made the quickeſt voyage that has been known; advice was received at the India houſe, that the troubles were happily terminated on the Coromandel coaſt; that Madura and Palmacota were in the hands of the Engliſh; that the rebel Jſoaph Cawn, was ſubdued and executed, and that all was quiet at Bengal, where governor Vanſitart had over came all difficulties, and was on the point of delivering up his government to Mr. Spencer, a gentleman of diſtinguiſhed character and ability. The death of JſoaphCawn, was thus related: that Mr. Marchand with ſome French troops, having undertaken to ſupport his pretenſions againſt the reigning nabob, was in poſſeſſion of Madura; but finding the Engliſh nabob, by means of Engliſh auxiliaries, likely to prevail, he diſpatched a French officer, with a flag of truce from

from the fort to the Engliſh camp, demanding ſafe guard for his own troops, pay for the black troops, and pardon for thoſe who had deſerted; and offering at the ſame time to deliver up Iſoaph Cawn, the moment theſe terms were granted, having already arreſted him for that purpoſe; the terms were accepted, the town was given up, and Iſoaph Cawn delivered over to the nabob, who ordered him to be hanged the next day, in front of the lines. Such was the opinion of the Eaſt India proprietors, in regard to Mr. Sulivan's abilities and capacity in the direction of their affairs, that notwithſtanding Lord Clive's friends cabals and intrigues, he ſtood on the liſt of the proprietors.

Coſſim Ali Cawn, with a detachment of Indoſtans had fallen upon a ſmall party of the Eaſt India company's forces and cut them off; a few Europeans being amongſt them, he cut of their heads, and ſent them to the vizier, which gave great joy to the enemy; but inſtead of diſpiriting the company's troops, it inſpired them with a ſpirit of revenge, that contributed afterwards to the victory they gained over the forces of Indoſtan.

Major Hector Munro, who commanded his majeſty's and the Eaſt India company's troops in Bengal, marched on the 20th of October 1764, againſt the king and vizier of Indoſtan at the head of an army of 5000 men. On the twenty ſecond they encamped ſo near the enemy, as to be part out of the range of their ſhot; the morning of the action at day light, the Major went out with ſome of the principal officers to reconnoite their ſituation, intending to attack them the following day; but finding their whole army under arms, he re-

turned to his camp, and ordered in the advanced poſts and grand guards; the drums to beat to arms, and in leſs than twenty minutes after, the line of battle was formed having made his diſpoſition for it the day before. They began to cannonade our army at nine o'clock in the morning, and half an hour after, the action became general; our army had a moraſs in front, which prevented their moving forwards for ſome time, by which means the number of cannon the enemy had and which were well levelled, and equally well diſpoſed of, galled very much the company's forces. The major was forced to order a battalion of ſea-poys, with one gun, from the right of the firſt line, to move forwards to ſilence one of their batteries, which played upon the flank of his army, and obliged to ſupport it by another battalion from the ſecond line, which had the deſired effect; he then ordered both the lines to face to the right, and keep marching in order to clear the left wing of the moraſs, and when done, face to his former front, the right wing wheeling up to the left to clear a ſmall wood that was upon his right; then the firſt line moved forward, keeping a very briſk canonade. Major Munro ſent orders to major Pemble, who commanded the ſecond line, to face it to the right about, and follow the firſt; but that officer ſaw the propriety of that movement ſo ſoon, that he began to put it in execution before he received that order. Immediately after both lines puſhed forward with ſo much ardor and reſolution; at which time the ſmall arms began, that the enemy ſoon after gave way; and five minutes before twelve, their whole army was put to flight. They had 6000 men killed on the field of battle, and we took

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from them 130 pieces of cannon, beſides ſeveral ſtores of different kinds. Captain Charles Gordon, of the 89th regiment, aid de camp to Major Munro, diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his brave and ſpirited conduct; and major Pemble was recommended to the chairman and court of directors, for his ſkill and intrepidity. Both theſe officers had their horſes ſhot under them in the action.

The war carried on by our Eaſt-India company againſt the Mogul, his viceroys and ſubjects, muſt unavoidably prove its ruin. We ſhould no longer buſy ourſelves in pulling down one nabob and ſetting up another, but we ſhould be nabobs ourſelves. The emperor has more than once offered to the company their own terms, and it is madneſs not to comply; for that the preſent contention and hoſtilities, if they are continued, will render the country not worth poſſeſſing. What Mr. Holwell ſays on this ſubject, is ſo important and ſo manifeſtly pure, that we ſhall give it nearly in his own words. This gentleman ſucceeded lieutenant-colonel Clive in the government and precedency of Bengal, on February the eighth 1760, when Mr. Clive embarked for England. He publiſhed ſome years ago a book entitled, "Intereſting events relating to Bengal."

"It is true, ſays he, we have ſeen our forces in the eaſt, under the conduct of an able and active commander drive the Mogul viceroys out of the provinces; but it is alſo true, that we have ſeen lately a ſpirited conduct and bravery in the Mogul's troops, which ought to ſtrike us with apprehenſion of future conſequences. The Ruſſians when firſt attacked by Sweden, did not poſſeſs a tenth part of

the courage and diſcipline, that theſe our enemies have now acquired; and yet the event is known to the world.

" Let us reaſon upon very probable ſuppoſitions, and not reſt in a too great and flattering ſecurity, at a time when we have the greateſt cauſe to be alarmed. Suppoſe the Mogul's viceroys ſhould from experience at laſt diſcover, that the only way to conquer us and render our courage and diſcipline of no effect, is to avoid coming to a general action with us: with the great ſuperiority of numbers they will ever be able to bring in the field, they may by this precaution and dividing their army (which conſiſts chiefly of cavalry) into ſmall bodies, cut off our proviſions and forage, beat up our quarters, harraſs our handful of men without ceaſing, and finally deſtroy us without danger to themſelves: and it is morally impoſſible they ſhould not at laſt adopt this conduct.

" Let us again ſuppoſe a rupture with France, whilſt we are engaged in this war with the Mogul: our preſidency at Fort William and our other factories in a manner deſerted, and the chief ſtrength of all our ſettlements acting at the diſtances of eight or nine hundred miles from the center of our poſſeſſions: each rupture will ſet at nought the article in the laſt treaty of peace, which gave us an excluſive right to Bengal, and therefore ought to be attended to; for it is not to be imagined, that they will neglect ſo favourable an occaſion of attacking a ſettlement, that conſtitutes in the eaſt the very eſſence of our being, when they find it left defenceleſs by the abſence of our troops.

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"Permit us moſt humbly to adviſe, ſays Mr. Holwell, (addreſſing our Eaſt India company,) that expreſs orders be ſent without delay, to your preſident and governor of Fort William, to make the following overture of peace to the Mogul; viz. that on condition of his appointing and inveſting (to all intents and purpoſes) your governor for the time being, ſoubah of the provinces of Bengal, Bahar and Orixa; you will engage on your part, that the ſtipulated ſum of one khorere of rupees, (1,250,000l. ſterling) ſhall be annually paid into the royal treaſury free of all deductions. As this ſum doubles in one year, any advantages the emperors have received from the revenues of theſe provinces, for the ſpace of forty years laſt paſt; we cannot entertain a doubt of his moſt readily acceding to the terms propoſed; as thereby he would alſo have a powerful ally, who could be occaſionally of ſervice to him on any emergency in his government.

"When we are inveſted with, and impowered to diſplay the Mogul's royal ſtandard, the provinces will be equally governed, at a leſs annual expence and force than the company are now from neceſſity loaded with. But ſuppoſe it double, the ſtake is amply ſufficient as we ſhall preſently demonſtrate, *aut ſoubah aut nullus*, may be our motto."

As a friend to lord Clive, Mr. Holwell paid him the following compliment. "We cannot enough applaud the ſeaſonable meaſure of ſending out lord Clive, which we eſteem a happy event; notwithſtanding what could be done upon the preſent plan of politics has been done without him. The weight of his lordſhip's reputation and experience

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in theſe parts will moſt effectually promote this our new plan; he is the beſt qualified to negociate it, the fitteſt to be firſt inveſted with that high power, and the moſt capable of fixing and leaving it upon a ſolid baſis.

"This meaſure was adviſed, and might have been ſucceſsfully taken in the year 1760; if it had been, murders and maſſacres would have been prevented; but it is not now too late to regain the opportunity which we then loſt; in conſequence of the truth of this aſſertion, Mr. Holwell proceeds to ſhew by a rough ſketch, if the produce of the revenues, the vaſt ſtakes for which we throw. "If we win, ſays he, our gain will be immenſe, if we fail, we are but where we were."

The ſketch is in ſubſtance as follows:

At Natoor, about 100 miles N. E. of Calcutta, reſides the family of the Hindoo princes of Bengal, of the race of the Bramins, who died in the year 1748, and was ſucceeded by his wife. They poſſeſs a tract of country of about 150 miles, and under a ſettled government, their ſtipulated annual rents to the crown was ſeventy lack of ſiccarapees; the real revenue about one khorere and half. The chief towns of theſe diſtricts are all ſeparately famous for manufacturing the following ſpecies of piece goods for the European markets. Coſſees, elatches, raw ſilk, &c. the other towns are famous markets for grain.

The diſtrict of Rajah Peaunaut of the ſcribe kind, extends about 500 miles, moſtly low lands, and in great part annually overflowed. His ſtipulated yearly payment 20 lack, the real pro-

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duce of his revenue from ſixty to ſeventy. The chief products of his country are grain, oil and ghee (an article much uſed in Indian cookery) it likewiſe yields ſome ſpecies of piece goods, raw ſilk, ginger, long pepper, &c. articles that uſually compoſe the cargoes of our outward bound ſhipping. The whole of his revenue are uſually valued in peaceable times at 30 lack per annum.

North weſt of Fort William, about 35 miles, lie the lands of Rajah Tilluck Chund, extending 120 miles, the ſtipulated rents of theſe lands are thirty-two lack per annum, but its real produce and value from 80 lack to one khorere. This is the principal of the three diſtricts ceded in perpetuity to the company, by the treaties with Coſſim Ali Khan, in the year 1760. Its principal towns ſupply the Eaſt India Company with divers ſortments of piece goods. The capital Burdwan, may be properly called the center of the trade of the provinces in tranquil times: this place afforded an annual large vent for the valuable ſtaples of lead, copper, broad cloth, tin, pepper, &c. The merchants of Delli and Agra reſorted yearly to this great mart and would again if peace was eſtabliſhed in the country. They purchaſed the above ſtaples, either with money or in barter for opium, ſalt petre and horſes. This diſtrict produces raw ſilk. They manufacture in their villages inferior ſortments of cloth. It produces grain equal to the conſumption of the people only.

The family of this Rajah farmed lands to the amount of four lack per annum, contiguous to the

the bounds of Calcutta. To the weſt of Burdwan lie the lands belonging to a Rajah of the Bramin tribe; they poſſeſs an extent of 160 miles; this diſtrict produces an annual revenue of 90 lack.

Biſrapyre the capital, is alſo the chief ſeat of trade. Contiguous to it lie the territories of a Mogul prince. He is taxed at ten lack per annum.

North eaſt of Calcutta diſtant about 30 miles lies Hiſnagar, the fort and capital of a Rajah, who poſſeſſes a tract of country of about 120 miles; and is taxed at nine lack per annum, though his revenues exceed 25 lack. Cotton yarn is manufactured for the European markets in his principal towns.

The revenues of the city of Decca, once the capital of Bengal, at a low eſtimation amount annually to two kherore, proceeding from cuſtoms and duties levied on cloths, grain, oil, ghee, beetle-nut, chank metals, ſalt and tobacco.

The foregoing inſtances of the value of the lands in the provinces of Bengal, only held by the rajahs, ſhall ſuffice, ſays Mr. Holwell, without particularizing theſe held by the Zemindars, (officers of horſe and foot) ſcattered through the provinces, ſome of whom are very conſiderable land-holders; theſe are generally taxed nearer the real value of their lands, than thoſe which are held by the Rajahs.

The revenues of the city of Patna and thoſe of the province of Bahar, the rich government of Purnea, of the capital Muxſhadabad, with ſeveral petty nabobſhips towns and diſtricts already ceded to

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us by the treaty of 1760, and the diſtricts ceded by the treaty of 1757, all held by a moſt precarious tenure, whilſt this war with the government ſubſiſts.

"To ſum up the whole, ſays he, we venture to ſtate our credit and veracity on the aſſertion, that the two provinces of Bengar and Bahar, wilfully yield a revenue of 13,760,000l. ſterling; if it yields this under a deſpotic and tyrannic government, in times of peace and currency of trade, what may we not expect more from its improvement under a mild and Britiſh one. To conclude, we repeat if we ſhould ſucceed in the attempt, great and glorious will be the Britiſh name in thoſe parts, and immenſe the gain to the company and nation; if we fail, nothing remains but to obtain a laſting peace on almoſt any terms; for if the war continues much longer on the preſent ineffectual and expenſive footing, the company cannot poſſibly ſupport it"

We ſhould think ourſelves wanting to our engagements to the public, in regard to the tranſactions in India, in which the late general Lawrence has acted ſo conſpicuous a part, did we omit to pay a juſt tribute to his memory, in exhibiting at one view the military virtues and conſtant ſervices of this brave, active and experienced commander. The narrative of his own campaigns is full of inſtruction, though written in a camp, and with that preciſion and energy which diſtinguiſhes the character of a ſoldier. General Lawrence firſt introduced military diſcipline amongſt the company's troops, who before he taught them theſe ſkilful manœuvres and evolutions that have ever ſince in-

ſured ſucceſs to the Engliſh againſt the natives, were deſpiſed even by the Indians, who had long before now rooted them out from the peninſula of Indus, had they remained in the ſame ignorance of the art of war, in which he had found them.

As early as the year 1730, the French opened a ſcene of troubles, and inteſtine wars in India, by taking part in the diſputes of the Nabob Mahomet Ally Cawn, and ſupporting the claims of his competitors.

Nizam Almuluck, viceroy of Deckan, according to his right of nominating a viceroy of the Carnatic, now more generally known by the name of the Nabob of Arcot, appointed Sadet Aly Cawn, who was ſucceeded by his nephew Deuſt Aly Cawn, who governed in the year 1740.

Chundaſaib, a man of an obſcure origin, without fortune and connections, but endowed by nature with talents and a capacity that made ample amends for theſe accidental advantages, had the command of a ſmall diſtrict of country, and could bring about an hundred horſe into the field. He ſerved under the governor of the Carnatic, who ſenſible of his merit and grateful for his ſervices, married him to one of his daughters.

The kingdom of Trichinopoly was then under the Gentoo government. The king dying left no children, and appointed his brother's ſon to ſucceed. The dowager queen, ſupported by her two brothers, put in a claim to the regency, till her eldeſt brother's ſon was of a fit age to reign. There was a third party formed by a relation of the deceaſed king, who demanded the throne as his right, and brought a large army to ſupport his pre-

pretenſions. The king's party was ſoon thrown out of the competition, and the diſpute continued between the queen and the king's relations. The queen applied to the Nabob of Arcot, and he came to her aſſiſtance, and with him Chundaſaib, as his general who managed affairs ſo well, that having weakened both, he formed a ſtronger party for himſelf, and waited with patience till his ſcheme was ripe for execution. Under pretence of a viſit to the queen, he introduced himſelf and ſome troops into the town, got poſſeſſion of it, put to death all the different competitors, plundered and impriſoned the queen, who, finding no reſource left, poiſoned herſelf; firſt burning the Alcoran on which Chundaſaib had ſwore that his only views in this viſit was to ſhew marks of reſpect. Thus the government of the kingdom of Trichinopoly was changed in 1738, and ſtill continues under the Nabob of Arcot, who commonly gives it to one of his family.

In the year 1740, the Marattas invaded Arcot, and overthrew Deuſt Ali Cawn in a battle which coſt him his life. On this tragical event his ſon fled to Madraſs, and then obtained the protection of Mr. Benyon, then governor. Soon after he received a grant from the viceroy of Deckan, appointing him Nabob of Arcot, but in the year 1744, he was treacherouſly murdered at a feaſt made by his brother-in-law at Velloure, a ſtrong fort twelve miles from Arcot.

Chundaſaib remained at Trichinopoly till the year 1741, when the Marattas came a ſecond time into the country, beſieged the town, got poſſeſſion of it, and took him priſoner. He was carried to the Marattas capital and then confined till 1748.

Nizam Almuluck, viceroy of the Deckan dying the ſame year, left four ſuns. Though the ſucceſſion in this country is not hereditary, yet it commonly runs in the ſame family, eſpecially when the ſurvivors have power to make good their pretenſions, and money to ſecure the Mogul's appointment. The eldeſt ſon was then pay-maſter general to the Mogul, the ſecond man in power, next to the vizier, in this mighty empire having perhaps more ambitious views he refuſed the viceroyalty of the Deckan, and made over his intereſt to his next brother Nazirzing, who was appointed by the Mogul Shaw Hamet.

Muzapherzing who laid claim to the Carnatic having engaged to have Chunda Saib releaſed from his confinement, the general promiſed on his being ſet at liberty to go to Pondicherry, and influence Mr. Dupleix to aſſiſt, and ſupport Muzapherzing's pretenſions.

Chunda Saib, was no ſooner free from his ſhackles than he ſet out for Pondicherry, and by ſome preſents and large promiſes, influenced Mr. Dupleix whoſe predominant paſſions were ambition and avarice; and when Muzapherzing was ready he was joined by ſix hundred French and a train of artillery. In July 1749, they marched for Arcot and then encountered Anaverdy Cawn, nabob of Arcot, who loſt the victory and his life. His eldeſt ſon was taken priſoner and the ſecond made the beſt way to his government of Trichinopoly, waiting there for an opportunity to revenge his father's death. The victorious army purſued the blow, took Arcot, and over-ran the whole province. They afterwards returned to Pondicherry, where Muzapherzing appointed Chunda Saib, nabob

bob of Arcot. They remained quiet at Pondicherry, till Admiral Boſcawen ſailed for Europe, not daring to move till he was out of ſight. The day after, October 21, 1749, they took the field and raiſed contributions all over the country. The French commanded by Mr. Law, the famous projector's ſon, marched and laid ſiege to the capital of the king of Tanjour, who refuſed to acknowledge Muzapherzing nabob of the Carnatic. The French afraid to venture an aſſault, tho' the people of the town were reduced to their laſt barrel of powder, conſented to raiſe the ſiege, on receiving ſome lacks of roupees in ready money, and a bill for ſeventy-five lacks more; after one day's march the French returned, inſiſting on a ſum of money for themſelves, but the king of Tanjore having received in that time a re-inforcement of ſeapoys and gunners, refuſed their demands, but having got intelligence of Nazerzing's march towards Arcot, in order to puniſh the French nabob and Chunda Saib for their rebellion, they raiſed the ſiege a ſecond time in good earneſt and retired to Pondicherry in January 1750.

Mahomet Ali Cawn, the lawful pretender to the Carnatic, had deſired the aſſiſtance of the Engliſh. Juſtice and policy required to put a ſtop to the progreſs of the French, whoſe oppreſſive power muſt at laſt have proved our ruin. This determined the Eaſt India company's ſervants to protect Mahomet Ali Kawn. Captain Cope was therefore ſent with a detachment to Trichonopoly, and joined Nazirzing at Waldore, who conferred ſome honours upon this officer, and appointed Mahomed Ali Cawn, who was with him, to ſucceed his father as

nabob

nabob of Arcot and Trichonopoly. Muzaphering and Chanda Saib, marched out of Pondicherry with their army, and 2000 commanded by Mr. Dautevil, with a large train of artillery, and a numerous body of ſeapoys. They took poſt at the earneſt deſire of Naziring, at whoſe repeated intreaties, major Lawrence, who by modelling the company's troops, after the beſt diſciplined veterans, had given a high opinion of his knowledge in the art of war, to the Indian forces, marched with ſix hundred men, accompanied by Mr. Weſtcot, one of the council, with a commiſſion to treat with the viceroy of Deckan, in which they were aſſiſted by captain Dalton.

They joined him at Villanure, and were graciouſly received, agreeable to the dignity of an eaſtern prince at the head of 300,000 men, of which he declared major Lawrence generaliſimo; an honour, which was never conferred on lord Clive. Nazirzing propoſed him to attack the enemy immediately; major Lawrence replied, in the eaſtern ſtile, that he muſt be ſure of victory, wherever he fought, yet the attack might be attended with ſome difficulty, and coſt him the lives of many brave men, as the enemy were ſtrongly poſted, and had with them a large train of artillery; but that, if he pleaſed to march between them and Pondicherry, he might by cutting off their communication, obliges them to fight at a greater diſadvantage.

However juſt this propoſal might be, his anſwer was "what ſhall the great Nazerzing, even for an "advantage ſeem to retreat before ſo deſpicable "an enemy? no I will march and attack them "in front." Major Lawrence told him he might do

do as he pleaſed, he was ready to ſupport him.

The French were entrenched and had 20 pieces of cannon; Nazerzing had 800. The officer who commanded his artillery was an Iriſhman, for the natives in general think every European an engineer. Major Lawrence finding fault with the diſpoſition of the artillery, which was in a hollow where the cannon were hid, he gravely replied, "Do you think I am mad, to expoſe his excellency's "cannon, by placing it on a riſing ground."

The two armies were ſo near, that the next day they cannonaded, and were drawn in battle-array.

In this ſituation a meſſenger came to major Lawrence from Mr. Danteuil to acquaint him, "that "although they were engaged in different cauſes, "yet it was not his deſign, nor his inclination, "that any European blood ſhould be ſpilt; but as "he did not know the poſt of the Engliſh, ſhould "any of his ſhot come that way, and hurt the "Engliſh he could not be blamed," the major ſent him for anſwer "that he had the honour of "carrying the Engliſh colours on his flag gun, "which if he pleaſed to look out for, he might "know from thence, where the Engliſh were poſted," and he aſſured him he ſhould be alſo very loth to ſpill European blood; but if any ſhot came that way, he might be aſſured he would return them.

To know whether major Lawrence was in earneſt, a ſhot was fired from their battery, over the heads of the Engliſh auxiliaries; the major ordered three guns to anſwer it, and ſaw them well pointed. Mr. Danteuil, ſeeing him reſolved not to look tamely on, and probably fearing the ſucceſs

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of an action, thought it more prudent to retire in the night. For the greater expedition he left behind him eleven pieces of cannon with part of the men who ſerved his artillery, the better to conceal his deſign.

Nazerzing, having immediate notice of his retreat, ſoon routed Muzapherzing's forces, and falling in with the unfortunate French gunners, left behind as a ſacrifice, he cut moſt of them to pieces. Major Lawrence ſaved with his men as many as he could, taking them by force from the hands of the Moors, and ordering the ſurgeons of his army to dreſs their wounds, took all the care of them, that humanity required. In return Mr. Dupleix wrote a long proteſt againſt major Lawrence, for making French ſubjects priſoners in time of peace.

The ſame night a large detachment of Marattas, from Nazirzing's camp, commanded by Mararow, an intrepid chieftain, was ſent in purſuit of Mr. Danteuil, who formed his men into a ſquare at their approach. Mararow attacked and broke it with only fifteen men, imagining his whole party in his rear; but ſeeing his danger in being ſurrounded, he opened his way through a thick battalion of the enemy with ſix men, having loſt the other nine in the attack.

On the retreat of the French army, Muzapherzing ſubmitted and implored the mercy of his uncle, who detained him as a ſtate priſoner. But Chunda Saib, whoſe ſole dependance was on Mr. Dupleix, retreated with the French to Pondicherry. Mr. Dupleix after this diſgrace wrote a long letter to Nazirzing, which he would not open

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but in the preſence of major Lawrence. Though he pretended ſubmiſſion to the viceroy, he had the preſumption to dictate to him, and inſiſt, that none of the family of Anaverdy Cawn, ſhould ever govern the province of Arcot.

Mr. Dupleix, at the very time that he treated publickly for an accommodation, concerted ſecret meaſures with Nazirzing's prime miniſter, and the nabobs of Cadapat, and Condanore for the deſtruction of the viceroy of Deckan. Theſe nabobs whoſe territories lay in the kingdom of Golconda had in their pay a number of Patans eſteemed very uſeful in aſſaſſinations and other acts of villainy. Major Lawrence was informed of this conſpiracy and deſired his interpreter, to acquaint Nazirzing with his prime-miniſter's treachery, but the linguiſt durſt not accuſe a perſon who had engroſſed all the authority of his maſter.

The inſtructions of major Lawrence to Nazirzing were to obtain an additional diſtrict for the company round Madraſs, which he frequently promiſed, and had certainly performed, had not his prime miniſter, who was in the French intereſt contrived to ſtart a number of difficulties in adjuſting finally this affair.

The more we urged againſt his march to Arcot, the more his favourite preſſed him to it; our removal from him was the great object of the conſpirators, who had reſolved his ruin.

General Lawrence finding all his endeavours fruitleſs againſt the Viceroy's fatal determination; the Engliſh marched to their ſettlements and Nazirzing to Arcot, where lulled to a ſecurity, he gave himſelf up entirely to the plea-

ſures he was fondeſt of, women and hunting. Nothing was omitted by his perfidious enemies to amuſe him, and take off his attention from buſineſs, or whatever might lead to a diſcovery of the deſigns which were carrying on againſt him.

The French having defeated the detachment of Marrattas who were encamped near Pondicherry, with their uſual ſupineneſs, they next took the field with Chundaſaib, and marched for Trividi, a fortified Pagoda ſituated about ſixteen miles weſt of Fort St. David's, of which they got poſſeſſion.

The Nabob Mahomed Alli Cawn, who had attended Nazirzing to Arcot, deſired a party from the Engliſh army to oppoſe and puniſh the French and Chandaſaib; and at the ſame time applied for a train of artillery. Captain Cope, with 400 of military, and a body of ſeapoys marched to his aſſiſtance, and in conjunction they moved towards the enemy. At that time major Lawrence was prevented from taking the field himſelf, being obliged to fill the chair, vacant by the removal of Mr. Floyer, till Mr. Saunders who was appointed to ſucceed could come from Vizagapatam. Soon after his arrival the major embarked for England, where he received the thanks of the court of Directors; for having by his example firſt rouſed his countrymen from their lethargy, and by his prudence, courage and activity raiſed the military reputation of the company's forces. He was not preſented with a rich ſword ſet with diamonds, as was afterwards captain Clive, who learned from him the firſt elements of war; but he enjoyed the ſecret

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happineſs and ſatisfaction to have merited greater rewards, without cenſure and reproach.

The Nabob Mahomed Ali Cawn for want of magazines and money, being unable to march his army between the French and Pondicherry, and the expences of the expedition falling entirely upon the company, captain Cope had orders to return. The very night after, the French and Chundaſaib attacked the Nabob in his camp; it could not be called a battle, but a rout; the troops inſtead of fighting, ran away in ſmall parties, and every thing fell into the victor's hands; even the Nabob with difficulty made his eſcape almoſt unattended, to Nazirzing. The enemy followed the blow, and partly by threats, partly by fair promiſes got poſſeſſion of Gingee, a place ſtrong by nature, and well fortified according to the Eaſtern manner. Theyſecured their new conqueſts by a ſtanding garriſon, and it was well provided with ammunition and artillery.

Nazirzing alarmed by the loſs of Gingee, marched immediately from Arcot to re-take that important place, declaring he would ſucceed or never return. He ſurrounded the fortreſs with his army; the French and Chundaſaib were encamped under the walls. They were to attack part of the camp which the Nabobs of Cadepah and Condanore occupied, and their troops had inſtructions to make no reſiſtance. The Nabobs had engaged on their part to aſſaſſinate Nazirzing at his firſt appearance on the alarm. The attack was no ſooner begun, but the two Nabobs went directly to Nazirzing's tent, and meeting him as he came out, they intreated him to mount his elephant, and puniſh the rebels.

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The unfortunate prince was diſpoſing himſelf to follow their advice, when the ſtroke was given, the one ſtabbing him with a poignard, while the other ſhot him with a piſtol. His hand was ſevered from his body, fixed on a ſpear, and brought to his nephew Muzapherzing, who being immediately releaſed, and mounted on his uncle's elephant, was proclaimed. through the camp viceroy of the deckan. So general was the conſternation, that every body thought of ſaving themſelves, not knowing who were friends or enemies. The French puſhed their way to Nazirzing's tent, where was found an immenſe treaſure in money and jewels, by which many made their fortunes; but none comparable to that of Mr. Dupleix, which by all accounts, was not to be equalled at that time by any ſubject in Europe.

To perpetrate the memory of this infamous victory which the French had boaſted of as ſuperior to any thing recorded in hiſtory; Mr. Dupleix near the place where the maſſacre was committed, cauſed a town to be built called Dupleix Feteabat, the place of victory, and a pillar was deſigned to be erected in the market place of Pondicherry with a pompous Latin inſcription, giving an account of the engagement, with an extravagant praiſe of the French valour. Captain Clive, a year after in retaking the province of Arcot, burnt the town and deſtroyed the monument on which the pillar was to have been erected. This precedent of French injuſtice, cruelty, and perfidy, to which an independent prince fell a ſacrifice, has been too often followed by the Engliſh company's ſervants.

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The army of thoſe civilized ruffians and free booters, returned to Pondicherry, in January 1751, with a moſt ſumptuous train of the princes of the Deckan, and divided the ſpoil. Muzapherzing declared Chanda Saib, nabob of Arcot, and all its dependencies, and aſſociated Mr. Dupleix in the government with himſelf. This imperious French upſtart aſſumed on this the ſtate and formalities of an eaſtern prince. He held his durbar or court like a Mogul prince in the palace at Pondicherry, and ſuffered neither the natives nor his own countrymen to approach him, without a preſent after the eaſtern manner. He mounted his elephant and was proclaimed nabob.

Mahomed Ali Cawn eſcaped, with the utmoſt difficulty, and without attendants; he happily reached Trichinopoly, notwithſtanding the great ſearch made to ſeize his perſon. It was agreed at Pondicherry, that Chanda Saib ſhould raiſe an army, and aſſiſted by the French, endeavour to make good his appointment to the government of Arcot under Mr. Dupleix.

Muzapherzing began his march for Aurengabad, the uſual reſidence of the princes of the Deckan, accompanied by Mr. Buſſy, at the head of 600 French, 3000 ſeapoys and a large train of artillery. On the road the two nabobs of Condlemore and Cadapah, jealous of the new Viceroy and the power of the French, and not thinking themſelves ſufficiently rewarded for their villainy, proceeded to outrages that produced an engagement, in which Nazerzing was in ſome meaſure revenged by the death of

of his nephew, the chief of the conſpirators.

The nabob of Condemore loſt his life in the encounter.

The next day the chiefs of the army proclaimed Sallabatzing brother to Nazirzing, viceroy of the Deckan. At this time the troubles at the court of Delli, prevented the Mogul from ſettling the affairs of the Deckan; in the interim he appointed Gauzdey Cawn governor of that province, and this new prince confirmed Mahomed Aly Cawn nabob of Arcot.

Captain de Gingines, a Swiſs officer, at the head of 500 men, collected from all the Engliſh ſettlements, was ſent to obſerve the motions of Chundaſaib and the French. He attacked the fort of Volconda without ſucceſs, and his army, after ſome loſs was obliged to retire.

Major Lawrence in his narrative of the war, on the coaſt of Coromandel, has ſhewn his knowledge of lactic and fortifications, by the maps annexed to his deſcription of the country he mentions that extraordinary rock which ſtand in the middle of Trichinopoly, and is about 300 feet high. On the top of it is a pagoda, which was of ſingular uſe to him in the war, its height commanding as far as Tanjore, which is forty miles; here was conſtantly ſtationed a man with a teleſcope, who gave the Engliſh by ſignals and writing on account of all the enemy's motions. * The major laments that the plain of Trichinopoly, once crowded with

with villages and plantations; has been ſince the war made a deſart.

He took in the year 1749, the Fort of Davecota, which belonged to the king of Tanjore, the poſſeſſion of which enabled us to ſupport the nabob, and king of Tanjore, who was ſo pleaſed to ſee it in the hands of the company, that he annexed to it a little territory; he computes the revenues of this ſmall kingdom to a million ſterling. The king found his intereſt to be a friend to us, and the nabob during the war, as he knew well the French wanted his country as a moſt benefical acquiſition, beſides he hated the French, ſince they had laid ſiege to his capital; it was alſo the intereſt of the Engliſh to live in amity with the king of Tanjore, as his country was the only communication we had left with the coaſt, whilſt the French had the ſuperiority in the peninſula.

The kings of Maiſſore and Tanjore, had joined the Engliſh, when Major Lawrence landed from England the 15th of March 1752. On the 17th he joined captain Clive, juſt ready to march with a party to Trichinopoly, and took the command of the company's forces. After having given ſome more particulars of this gallant officer's military operations, we ſhall inform the reader, of lord Clive's regulations on his arrival in India.

The ſucceſsful expedition of Mr. Clive into the province of Arcot during the abſence of the major, had probably made the young commander vain of the name he had acquired by this proſperous campaign; whether his equals were envious of his fortune, or that he began to treat them with an arrogant ſuperiority, the majority of officers

ficers and ſoldiers expreſſed a great joy at the return of their favourite leader, whom they revered as the only man fit to command them; though he took no notice of an anonymous letter he received, yet it convey'd the diſguſt ſome part of Mr. Clive's conduct had given to ſeveral officers. A copy of it has been communicated to the editor by a gentleman who ſerved at that time in a military capacity in Bengal. It is as follows,

To the honourable major Lawrence, commander in chief of the honourable Eaſt India company's forces.

"SIR,

"We moſt heartily congratulate you as well as ourſelves upon your ſafe return to India; and we think ourſelves happy to ſerve again under a commander ſo juſtly entitled to our reſpect and confidence; though we claim no other merit as officers than to have done our duty in all the various departments of the military ſervice, and are ſenſible how ſubordination is neceſſary for carrying on operations with ſucceſs and unanimity; we cannot diſſemble our ſurprize and diſcontent to ſee a man, who, till lately has emerged from the obſcurity of a counting houſe into the field of honour, preferred by favour to an honourable command, to which ſeveral of us had a prior right by ſeniority, and we may truely ſay a knowledge and experience acquired in divers campaigns, before his name was even mentioned as an officer. His unbecoming haughtineſs and want of regard for

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our opinion in meaſures carried on without even intimating his deſigns, but to his friends and confidents, is a contempt we will not ſubmit to. We hope you will make him ſenſible of his illiberal deportment, and that whatever idea the honourable company might have of his great exploits, there is none of us but were capable to conquer a province, which the enemy abandoned with diſgrace and puſilanimity, leaſt the ſervice ſhould ſuffer by our diviſions and animoſities, we think it conſiſtent with prudence not to ſign our names. We hope this gentleman's preferment will not ſerve as a precedent, &c."

Major Lawrence in his narrative gives a hint of this letter, attributed to an officer who has ſince raiſed to the command of the company's forces.

Major Lawrence did every thing that his prudence and his ſagacity required to prevent the fatal effects of that ſpirit of diviſion which had unhappily crept in among the officers of the company, ſo that many opportunities and advantages had been loſt, which gave the princes of the country, leagued againſt us, a very contemptible opinion of our conduct.

The major in his march to Trichinopoly, had a ſkirmiſh with a detachment of the enemy's cavalry commanded by Allum Cawn, who was killed in the encounter, and above 200 of his men; on which they retired with the reſt of their army; the French bringing up their rear, moved back to their camp, and left the major continue his march unnoticed.

He waited on the Nabob Mahomed Alli Cawn, the maiſſore general, and the reſt of the alliance, in

order to ſettle the plan of operations for the enſuing campaign. The company's forces conſiſted of 1200 Europeans and Topaſſes in battalion, 200 ſeapoys in the Engliſh pay, and the army of the allies amounted to 1500 horſe, and 10000 foot. There it was agreed to attack the enemy in their camp, and in caſe they ſhould retreat to Seringan Iſland and decline an engagement, to take ſuch meaſures as entirely to cut off their communication with the country, which they effected ſoon after, and obliged them to ſurrender for want of proviſions.

Ready and reſolute as the Indians appear in councils, they are ever dilatory and ſupine in execution; tied down to ſuperſtitious rites, faſts and feaſts, auſpicious and lucky days: nothing ſtimulates them to action, till theſe ridiculous cuſtoms and ceremonies are complied with, which ſeldom happens before the opportunity is loſt.

The army under Mr. Law conſiſted of 600 Europeans, Topaſſes and Coffrees; 180 French ſeapoys, and above 17000 black cavalry and infantry, in all above 20000.

The Topaſſes are the deſcendants of the Portugueze who firſt ſettled in India, and married with the natives, they differ very little in colour from the Indians themſelves, from which they are diſtinguiſhed by wearing hats. Coffrees is become the general name for all negroes, who are brought to India from the Cape, the coaſt of Guinea, and chiefly from Madagaſcar. They are brave and ſteady in the field.

It was in this campaign that captain Clive, who had been ſent by major Lawrence with a ſtrong detachment the other ſide of the river Coleroom,

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to cut off the communication of the enemy with Pondicherry, was ſhamefully ſurpriſed, a fault impardonable in a commanding officer, and committed a capital error, the conſequences of his ſupineneſs and falſe ſecurity. Finding at Outatoor that the report of a convoy he went to intercept, had been artfully ſpread by the enemy, in order to draw him from his poſt at Samiaveram, he reſolved to return immediately to his former ſtation. He arrived near the Pagoda about eleven at night, and having ordered his men to take ſome reſt, after this long and fruitleſs march, he retired to his pallenkeen.

The French, ignorant of captain Clive's return, arrived about four in the morning at Samiaveram, where they found every thing as quiet as they could wiſh; their guides led them directly to the Pagoda. On their approach the party left there in the morning by captain Clive challenged, and were anſwered friends, by ſome deſerters of the Engliſh army. This contented the detachment who guarded the Pagoda, miſtaking the enemy for ſome of captain Clive's returning party, and they were not convinced of their error, till the ſeapoys began to fire.

Captain Clive awaked and alarmed at the firing, ran in great confuſion towards it, and imagining the French ſeapoys whom he had joined, and were ruſhing into the Pagoda to be his own troops, began to reprimand them in the country language, for having given theſe falſe alarms. One of the ſeapoys officers perceiving he was an Engliſhman, drew his ſword, and cut at him, which captain Clive parried by advancing forwards, and receiv-

ing the blow from near the hilt, another officer of the Engliſh ſeapoys coming to his aſſiſtance, cut down his aſſailant, and diſengaged captain Clive; who by this time, ſenſible of his miſtake, and with the ſame good fortune that always accompanied him, eſcaped the danger to which his own imprudence and groſs error had expoſed him. He went afterwards in ſearch of his detachment, which he found under arms, but in the mean while his own party in the Pagoda was diſlodged, and the French took poſſeſſion of the poſt.

He tried to recover by raſhneſs what he had loſt by his miſconduct. Having formed his detachment with precipitation, he marched to the Pagoda, and ordered the gate to be ſtormed: the officer who attempted it was received by a platoon of the enemy, who killed him on the ſpot and many of his party wantingly ſacrificed to the pride and madneſs of the commander. On this captain Clive thought neceſſary to ſend for large pieces of artillery; and the French commanding officer ſeeing himſelf threatened with a handful of men with all the terrifying engines of a regular ſiege in a poſt that was not tenable, bravely endeavoured to ſally out of the Pagoda ſword in hand, but being killed in the attempt with ſome of his foremoſt people, the reſt ſurrendered at diſcretion. The French ſeapoys without the Pagoda were inhumanly cut to pieces by the Maratta cavalry. Monagee, general of the Tanjore troops retook Koiladdy the 21ſt of April, and the Nabob gave this place to the king of Tanjore, as it guarded the banks which conveyed the river Cauvery into his country, by the means

means of artificial canals which are the ſources of this kingdom's riches and fertility.

At this time the enemy were ſo reduced for want of proviſions, that the Indian army, on pardon and protection promiſed by the Nabob of Arcot, came over to major Lawrence's army in great numbers; one of their generals, named Coopſaib joined him with a thouſand horſe, a large body of ſeapoys and fourteen elephants. Theſe animals are often employed by the Indians in the ſieges of fortified places. When captain Clive was beſieged in the city of Arcot, one of the gates was attempted to be forced open by elephants with large plates of iron fixed to their foreheads; they turned furious from the musketry, and trampled on thoſe who conducted them.

Chundaſaib diſpirited and reduced to the greateſt extremity, without money to pay his troops, implored the friendſhip of Monagee the Tanjore general, whom he thought a generous enemy; he begged and obtained leave to paſs through his camp to Tanjore, but contrary to his faith and honour ſacredly pledged, the moment he was in the power of Monagee, he was made his priſoner. He had no doubt eſcaped to Pondicherry, but he was apprehenſive Mr. Dupleix would diſapprove a ſtep ſo prejudicial to the French intereſt.

The next day, June the firſt, the Nabob, the Maiſſore and Maratta generals, Monagee and colonel Lawrence, being aſſembled, it was debated how to diſpoſe of this ill-fated man. Colonel Lawrence heard their different opinions, before he declared his own. The Nabob and Monagee judged it was an impolitical and dangerous forbearance

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to ſet at liberty the author of all their troubles and apprehenſions. The Maiſſore general and Mararow were for having him in their poſſeſſion. Finding they could not agree, colonel Lawrence actuated by ſentiments of compaſſion and humanity propoſed, to keep him confined in one of the company's ſettlements: this was by no means approved, and they parted without coming to any reſolution; but Monagee in violation of the moſt ſacred oaths, without conſulting the Nabob or colonel Lawrence, ordered him to be beheaded on June the third. The head was ſent to the Nabob, and then being tied to the neck of a camel, was carried five times round the walls of Trichinopoly, attended by 100,000 ſpectators.

Thus fell Chundaſaib the victim of his immoderate ambition. Succeſsful crimes and uſurpations, not unavailing victory create the admiration of the Indians. In private life, Chundaſaib was humane, generous and benevolent.

Mr. Dupleix in his memoirs, falſely aſſerts, that colonel Lawrence himſelf ordered the death of Chundeſaib, notwithſtanding that calumny had been clearly confuted before.

Thus Mahomed Alli Cawn was reinſtated by major Lawrence in the nabobſhip of the Carnatic.

The French became ſo much ſtreightened for want of proviſions, that Mr. Law deſired colonel Lawrence's mediation with the Nabob, who met him in conſequence and explained to him the terms on which he was to ſurrender. One of the articles was, that the officers ſhould give their parole, not to ſerve againſt Mahomed Alli Cawn and his allies, which being ſigned by Mr. Law, captain Dalton took

took poſſeſſion of Seringham, and the French marched out, being about 600 Europeans, and 300 ſeapoys, the reſt of the allies availing themſelves of the Nabob's clemency, ſeparated and diſperſed. Captain Campbell with a party eſcorted the priſoners to Fort St. David. All the poſſeſſions of the Nabob being ſecured to the ſouth, Colonel Lawrence imagined nothing remained to make the peace permanent than to eſtabliſh him in the ſole and unmoleſted enjoyment of his northern territories, where the only fort of conſequence that would give him any trouble, was Gingee, ſtill occupied by the French. Colonel Lawrence having obſerved the backwardneſs of his allies in aſſiſting him to reduce the reſt of the province, endeavoured in vain to reconcile the chiefs, whoſe reſpective claims and demands diſſolved a league whoſe object ſeemed to make the province of Arcot their property. Colonel Lawrence marched with the Nabob to Trivedy, where the enemy had left a ſmall party, which ſurrendered on their firſt ſummons. There the major left the army under the command of captain de Gingin, being in ſo bad a ſtate of health, that he could not keep the field!

Dupleix who had a genius fertile in reſources, and a pride which ſupported him in the greateſt difficulties, never conſidered the juſtice of the cauſe he eſpouſed; he never heſitated about the means of compaſſing his end, when he found it agreeable to the dictates of his ambition and avarice. His council was compoſed of his own creatures who was never aſſembled to deliberate, but to obey implicitly his arbitrary mandates. He had mar-

married a woman born in the counrry, miſtreſs of all the low cunning peculiar to the natives, well ſkilled in their language; and endowed with as much ſpirit, art and pride as himſelf.

On Chundaſaib's death, he proclaimed Rajaſaib his ſon, Nabob of the province, and to prove he had an undoubted right to appoint whom he pleaſed to the government of Arcot, he gave out that the Mogul had ſent him ſaneds or commiſſions declaring him governor of all this part of the Carnatic, from the river Kniſtnah to the ſea. Theſe ſaneds were proved to be a forgery, and the whole contrivance detected, in the moſt public manner, as will appear.

The ſuppoſed meſſenger from Delli, was received with all the honour and ceremony uſually paid to an ambaſſador from the Mogul; and to compleat the farce, Mr. Dupleix himſelf in the country manner, with muſic and dancing girls before him, mounted on an elephant, received with due reverence from the hands of the pretended ambaſſador, his commiſſion from the Mogul, and in conſequence of this impoſture, gave out all orders from that time as a viceroy; he even kept his durbar or court, ſat on a ſofa, and received preſents from his council as well as the natives, like a prince of the country; and he aſſumed the character of ſubah of the Deckan.

Mr. Dupleix finding that Chundaſaib's ſon, would be of little uſe to him, having neither money nor intereſt in the country, offered the nabobſhip of Arcot to the governor of Velloure, Mootis Alli Cawn, a man of great opulence, every way fit for his purpoſe. Under divers pretences he got

got from him at different times, three lack of rupees; but the titular prince finding he was only amuſed, and Dupleix diſappointed in his further expectations of the governor's liberality, abandoned him to the reflections of his folly and credulity.

The governor of Madraſs having reſolved to attack Gingee, which conſiſts of two towns divided by a wall lined with canon, and defended by five ſtrong forts, built on fire mountains of ragged rock, well ſupplied with all manner of ſtores, and garriſoned by 150 Europeans, beſides ſeapoys and black people in great numbers; colonel Lawrence, who was ſtill very ill of a fever, ſet out from St. David's for Madraſs, to ſee the governor, and try if he could diſſuade him from this raſh attempt, with a force inadequate to the ſituation and the ſtrength of the place; eſpecially as the Engliſh had an enemy at their back, with a force ſufficient at leaſt to ſtop their convoys; adding that the leaſt check would make an unfavourable impreſſion on the minds of their fluctuating and unſettled allies, and that the Nabob's affairs required, firſt the aſſiſtance of the company's forces in recovering places, where they were ſure of ſucceſs. The governor inſtead of yielding to colonel Lawrence's ſuperior prudence and judgment, perſiſted in his reſolution, merely becauſe he had ordered a party for that enterprize.

Major Kinneer was ſent with a detachment from the army at Trivedy, of 200 Europeans; the Nabob alſo ſent his troops, above 600 horſe and 1500 ſeapoys. They arrived before the place the 25th of July; a ſummons was ſent, which the

French anſwered very civilly by ſaying, they kept it for the king of France, and was reſolved to defend it. Soon after intelligence was brought that a party marched from Pondicherry, conſiſting of 200 Europeans and 1500 ſeapoys. Major Kinneer judged it was more prudent to leave Gingee, as he had no proſpect of ſucceſs againſt the place, and to meet the French to keep his communication open. The French were poſted advantageouſly with ſeven pieces of cannon well diſpoſed in their front. The Engliſh attacked them with great intrepidity, but were warmly received, and galled by a briſk fire from behind the walls.

Major Kinneer endeavouring to rectify the blunder of an unſkilful Frenchman, who commanded the artillery and had been taken into the Engliſh ſervice was wounded in the leg and many of the men and officers killed; which obliged him in the end to retire, but in very good order. Thus ended the expedition againſt Gingee; and major Kinneer was ſcarce recovered of his wound, than his ſpirit ſunk under this diſappointment, and was carried off ſome time after by a fever and flux.

The French elevated as uſual by the leaſt ſucceſs, joined the party with all the force they could bring into the field. They marched cloſe to the bounds of Fort St. David. Colonel Lawrence was ſtill at Madraſs, but having received an account of their motion, he ſent orders to the troops in St. David's, to march out and encamp. Captain Shaub's company of Swiſs was alſo ſent by ſea from Madraſs. The party went in boats, though colonel Lawrence had deſired they might be ſent

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in a ſhip which was in the road, as well for the ſafety as for the eaſe of the troops.

Mr. Dupleix on notice of the embarkation, ſent a ſhip out of Pondicherry road, and took captain Schaub and his whole company, carried them to Pondicherry, where they were detained priſoners of war. An action againſt the law of nations, and an open violation of the peace then ſubſiſting between us and the French, though we were allies in different cauſes. Colonel Lawrence who ſtill continued ill, on this intelligence immediately embarked with captain Gaupp's Swiſs company, on board the Bombay's caſtle, the ſhip he had aſked for the other party. He arrived at St. David's the 16th of Auguſt, and took the field the next day with 400 Europeans, 1700 ſeapoys, 4000 of the Nabob's troops, and nine pieces of cannon. He found the enemy encamped within ſight of him, and after reconnoitring their ſituation, the colonel reſolved to attack them the next morning; but they marched off that night to Bahoor. Colonel Lawrence followed them the next day and they ſtill retreated, till they came within three miles of Pondicherry.

Mr. de Kerjean, a nephew of Mr. Dupleix, commanded his army. By his uncle's command, he proteſted in a long letter againſt our hoſtile invaſion, forbidding us to follow the prince of the country in his own territories. The abſurdity of theſe proteſts, to which the Engliſh had too long paid ſome regard was glaring, ſince Mr. Dupleix had thrown off the maſk, by taking captain Schaub and his party priſoners.

Colonel Lawrence was encamped at a Pagoda, rom whence he had a view of their camp, conſiſting of 400 Europeans, 1500 ſeapoys and 500 cavalry. In hopes to bring them to an engagement, e attacked their advanced poſt at Villenour, which eing unſupported was driven into their bounds, where colonel Lawrence's orders did not permit to ollow them.

Finding it impoſſible to bring on an engagenent, he marched back and encamped at Bahoor, wo miles from Fort St. David, to try if his rereat would encourage de Kerjean to follow him. As no people are more elated with the leaſt dawn of an inviting opportunity than the French, when hey have at their head a man without ſolidity, xperience and judgment, the colonel hoped his eigned retreat might anſwer his expectation effecively. Mr. Dupleix ordered de Kerjean to follow he Engliſh army, conjuring him to improve the favourable minute, and to avail himſelf of their ears. In vain de Kerjean repreſented his conectures on the motions of the enemy; though he gueſſed the truth, he received a peremptory comnand to march immediately in purſuit of the Engſh army, Mr. Dupleix aſſuring him, that he was onvinced they would not fight. He expected the rince every hour with Mr. de la Touche, who was n his arrival to ſuperſede him. The Prince was large French company's ſhip, with 700 men and reſents from the king of France for the Mogul, alabatzing and Chundeſaib. She was burnt in er paſſage to India, and ſcarce a man ſaved.

De Kerjean obliged to obey, encamped next ay within two miles of the Engliſh, and colonel Lawrence

Lawrence made a diſpoſition for attacking him the next morning.

Colonel Lawrence ordered his little army to be under arms at two in the morning; they marched in great order and came up in arms to begin the attack at break of day. They ſaw the French battalion drawn out upon their left. The Engliſh army then advanced, while they continued all the time a very briſk fire from their cannon. The ſmall arms ſoon began, the Engliſh advanced firing, and the French ſtood their grounds till our bayonets met. The violence of the attack from the Engliſh grenadiers and two platoons, threw the enemy into diſorder, and ſoon after their whole line was broke. They then threw down their arms, and ran in the utmoſt confuſion. The Nabob's cavalry inſtead of purſuing the fugitives, were employed in plundering the camp, which gave time to many of the French to retreat to Areocopony. The action however reflected equal honour upon the conduct and bravery of the Engliſh commander and his troops. Mr. Kerjean, fifteen officers, and 100 private men were made priſoners; many more were wounded or fell in the engagement: their artillery conſiſting of eight pieces of cannon, with all their ammunition, tumbrils and ſtores were taken by the conquerors who had an officer killed, four wounded, and ſeventy eight men killed or wounded. The Nabob highly delighted at this victory, though diſpleaſed at the behaviour of his own people, returned with colonel Lawrence to St. David's, and his troops were cantooned at Trivedy, during the monſoon, a ſeaſon

of

of heavy rains and ſtorm which begins in September, and generally continue to December.

The war continued till October 1752, when Gauzedy Cawn the elder brother of Salabatzing, whom the Mogul had appointed prince of the Deckan, marched to take poſſeſſion of his government; but he died in fourteen days after his arrival at Aurengabad, poiſoned by his own ſiſter. After his death, the Mogul appointed his ſon Shaw Abadin Cawn to ſucceed. He accordingly informed the Nabob, Mr. Saunders and Mr. Dupleix of the Mogul's appointment, and raiſed a large army to come and take poſſeſſion; but he was ſoon obliged to drop that deſign, the Mogul's affairs requiring his preſence with the army at Delly. Salabatzing now left at large at the earneſt ſollicitation of Mr. Dupleix, gave all our ſettlements to the northward to the French, who however for the preſent, did not attempt to take poſſeſſion except of Divi iſland. Mr. Buſſy frequently quarrelled with Salabatzing, and as often aſſiſted him again with his Europeans in collecting his revenues, by which conduct he ſometimes promoted the intereſt of the French company, always his own, and thereby became one of the richeſt ſubjects in Europe. Colonel Lawrence having received intelligence that the French were marched from Morarow, ſet out from Fort St. David the ſixth of January 1753, and joined the Nabob and the Engliſh forces at Trivedy: his army conſiſted of about 700 Europeans, 2000 ſeapoys and 100 of the Nabob's cavalry. He had neither money nor allies, except the king of Tanjore who promiſed very fairly, but never ſent any aſſiſtance. The French

French conſiſting of 500 Europeans, 2000 ſeapoys, a troop of horſe, commanded by Mr. Maiſſin, and 4000 morattas, intrenched themſelves on the banks of the river Paniar in ſight of Trivedy.

On the firſt of April, colonel Lawrence croſſed with the main body of Europeans, a hollow way the French had within their front, and which they imagined the Engliſh could not attempt to paſs. They were amazed at this act of intrepidity, and having given only one fire to the Engliſh who marched on briſkly, they ran away. They were too well ſatisfied with this advantage to purſue, as they had a convoy to take care of: the men beſides were almoſt exhauſted with fatigue, having been under arms from three o'clock in the morning; and the day was ſo exceſſively hot, that ſome of the Europeans dropt down dead on the march, for want of water.

Colonel Lawrence was the ſame day joined in his march by captain Polier and his company of Swiſs. With this reinforcement he tried, if poſſible, to attack the enemy, who could not be brought out of their intrenchments to an engagement. In conſequence of this reſolution he made a march nearer them. The grenadiers attacked an advanced party, and drove the enemy to their main body: their camp was ſurrounded with a parapet cannon proof, and with redoubts at proper diſtances, mounted with 30 pieces of cannon, and a very broad ditch, with a glacis. The Engliſh cannonaded their camp for ſome time, but to no purpoſe: colonel Lawrence finding he could not bring them to an engagement, and that an aſſault was impracticable, the number of their Europeans being

ing almoſt equal to his little army, he returned to Trivedy, and captain Kilpatrick marched with a detachment to re-take Bonnagery, which the enemy abandoned in the night. Captain Dalton ever ſince the loſs of his party, had been ſhut up in the fort of Trichinopoly, and the cavalry of the enemy ſcouring the plain, prevented any proviſions from coming in. He diſpatched a meſſenger to colonel Lawrence to acquaint him with the diſtreſſed ſituation of his garriſon. Upon this intelligence, the colonel having left captain Chaſe with 150 Europeans, and 500 ſeapoys for the defence of Trivedy. He marched immediately to Trichinopoly, through the Tanjore country. On his entering the province, the king ſent his prime miniſter Succogee, to compliment the Nabob and his allies. On their arrival at Condore the 3d of May, the king deſired to meet the Nabob, and colonel Lawrence half way. They ſet out with Mr. Palk. The king met them at the place appointed, attended by his whole court, who on the occaſion made a very magnificent and ſplendid appearance. He was eſcorted by 3000 horſe, well mounted, and many elephants in ſilver trappings. After ceremoniouſly paſſing each other in their palankeens, the Nabob and his allies were conducted to a pleaſant garden, and there received by the king, under a pavillion ſupported by pillars of ſilver, elegantly covered and furniſhed. There the Nabob and colonel Lawrence renewed their aſſurances of friendſhip and protection, and all their former engagements. It was determined that the king ſhould ſupport the Nabob, and join him the next day with 3000 horſe and a like number of ſeapoys. After a refreſhment

freſhment of fruits, &c. they were diſmiſſed with preſents of elephants, horſes, and ſerpals, a rich dreſs of that country, and eſcorted to their camp by a brilliant party of the Rajah's cavalry.

As the forces of Trichinopoly were of the utmoſt conſequence to the Engliſh intereſt, colonel Lawrence remained with his troops in or near the place above a year, without being able to get three months proviſions into the firſt.

The garriſon of Trivedy having made a ſally upon the French who were encamped near the fort, a whole party, which conſiſted of two officers, 60 Europeans and two companies of ſeapoys, was either put to the ſword, or made priſoners of war.

The French now erected a battery, and began to cannonade the place. The garriſon was ſtill ſufficient to make a good defence, had not a mutiny ariſen, in which the men got poſſeſſion of the arrack in the garriſon, and, mad with liquor, obliged captain Chaſe the commanding officer, to capitulate; by which means he and all the reſt of the garriſon were made priſoners of war. This gallant young man, whoſe lenity had been attended with ſuch diſgraceful conſequences, was ſo ſenſibly affected by his misfortune, that it threw him into a fever, of which he died ſoon after at Pondicherry.

Ballape a nephew of Morrarow, general of the Moraltes, having been killed in a ſkirmiſh, colonel Lawrence who had known this young man, when he was on our ſide, ſent his body which was found in the fields, in his palenkeen to his friends; he thought this reſpect juſtly due to ſo gallant an officer, a

youth of great ſpirit and courage, and an excellent horſeman. Morrarow returned his thanks to the colonel for this ſingular favour of a generous enemy.

Colonel Lawrence having a large convoy under his care, and reached a place called the Golden Rock, determined to attack the enemy, who were ſuperior in battalions, and if poſſible to drive them out of the field, to finiſh his march. The firſt party of the enemy had halted between the two rocks, and was at a great diſtance from the main body.

So favourable an opportunity was not to be loſt. He ordered immediately the picquet, grenadiers and four platoons to attack them. The officer who was ordered for the attack, inſtead of following his orders, ſent the colonel word he could not execute them without cannon, and halted, waiting for it. On this meſſage colonel Lawrence left the main body of his army, and galloped to the head of the party. Captain Kirk at the head of the grenadiers, captain Killpatrick with the picquet, and the colonel at the head of four platoons, marched on, the line keeping in admirable order, in ſpite of a very ſmart fire from the enemy's artillery, by which ſome men were killed, and in particular captain Kirk at the head of his favourite grenadiers. Theſe brave fellows, by whom he was much beloved, could not ſee his death without emotion. Captain Killpatrick, who ſaw himſelf and his men at a ſtand, immediately put himſelf at their head and deſired them, if they loved their captain to follow him, and revenge his death. This animating ſpeech had its deſired effect, as they knew

knew the ſpirit and courage of their new leader The grenadiers roſe in an inſtant, and attacked the enemy with ſuch fury, that they were unable to ſtand the ſhock. The main body of the Engliſh army marched to improve this advantage, and purſued the blow. The enemy moved to the aſſiſtance of their party, but it was too late. The briſkneſs of the attack gave no time for rallying, but on the contrary the pannic ſpreading through the whole, the French battalion ran off in great confuſion as far as a place called the Five Rocks; they were ſeverely cannonaded in their retreat, and had the Tanjore cavalry done their duty, few could have eſcaped. The Engliſh had no more than forty men killed and wounded; the enemy above an hundred.

We cannot help mentioning in this affair a particular inſtance of French impoſture and effrontery. The oys with colonel Lawrence's pallenkeen having ſtraggled a little out of the line of march, were picked up by the Morattas. It was the ſame in which he had ſent the body of Morrarow's nephew, therefore the colonel deſired the Moratta chief to return it, offering to pay the price to the horſeman who had taken it; but the French had got it out of their hands and would not ſuffer them to ſend it back, but carried it to Pondicherry, where, by Mr. Dupleix's order, it was carried about the town in triumph. At the ſame time it was reported that colonel Lawrence was killed, and that the Engliſh had loſt the victory, of which the palenkeen was a trophy.

The ſickneſs that prevailed in the Engliſh army on account of the brackiſh water they had been forced to drink, induced colonel Law-

rence to move his camp to the French rock the firſt of September. He was joined by a reinforcement of 150 men and officers from Europe, commanded by captain Ridge, and 300 ſeapoys. This determined the colonel to attack the enemy, as the Engliſh army had not above three days proviſions, and no convoys could come without the riſk of an engagement. He thought it therefore more adviſeable to attack them, while he could be maſter of his diſpoſition. The enemy had thrown up entrenchments on their front and rear. The Engliſh battalion of 600 rank and file was ordered into three diviſions; to march in the rear of each other, juſt at a proper diſtance to form the line when neceſſary. They marched September the 21ſt, at four in the morning. Their front diviſion, according to cuſtom compoſed of the grenadiers, picquet and two platoons, were ordered to begin the attack. The enemy was ſo much ſurpriſed, that they even forgot to fire two pieces of cannon which they had loaded with grape; and their infantry, ſo great was their confuſion, fired without any order. The Engliſh got poſſeſſion of an advantageous poſt called the Golden Rock in an inſtant. After dismounting two pieces of cannon of the enemy, their front diviſion being again formed, they marched on for the French battalion. According to the colonel's expectation, the beaten party carried the alarm to the black troops in the camp of the enemy, who in crouds ran for ſafety towards the French, and encreaſed their diſorder. Having paſſed the black camp without moleſtation, they were with the French in leſs than half an hour. The day began to dawn. Their cannon fired very briſkly

ly as the Engliſh approached; but they forgot in the hurry to point them, ſo little damage did they receive. The Engliſh formed their line as they marched, and attacked as they formed. Their right ſoon drove the left of the enemy, and the center of their line was ſoon afterwards put into diſorder; they attempted to rally and make a ſtand again, near a little breaſt work, but were ſoon obliged to abandon it, leaving behind them their camp ſtanding and all their artillery.

Mr. Aſtruc their commandant, and ſome officers were made priſoners. The Engliſh loſt in this action about 70 men, and the French had near 200 killed, wounded and taken priſoners. Colonel Lawrence received a ſlight wound in his arm, and captain Killpatrick, a ſhot through his body; concluding it muſt be mortal, this gallant and magnanimous officer, would not permit any of his men to ſtop by him, but ſent them on to join the victorious battalions in purſuit of the enemy. Some ſtraggling Moratta horſe came up in the mean time, and according to their barbarous cuſtom, cut him with their ſabres as they paſſed, which would have been repeated by others, had not the ſurgeon, who by accident ſaw him in that danger, ſtaid and protected him till the ſucceſs of the day cleared the field of the enemy; the Engliſh became after this action maſters of the plain, and had a free communication with Tirchinopoly. The Tanjore cavalry, inſtead of purſuing the enemy, were buſy in plundering their camp.

The

The enemy had left a party at Weyaconda, which being attacked, the breach was ſcarce practicable, when the Engliſh ſeapoys perceiving the enemy ſteal off by another gate, clambered up as well as they could, and cut to pieces the garriſon, conſiſting of 200 black infantry.

The monſoon ſeaſon coming on, the Nabob and colonel Lawrence fixed upon Kaileddy, which commands the paſs on Seringham iſland for the winter cantonment of the troops. There they loſt ſix officers and a great many ſoldiers by ſickneſs. The Nabob continued with colonel Lawrence, who wrote to the Precedency to ſend Mr. Palk to Tanjore, to keep that court in the Engliſh intereſt. He was a gentleman qualified in every reſpect for this commiſſion, and had been employed there with ſucceſs. Zuccajee. the King's prime miniſter, was in the intereſt of the enemy; he had been brought over to the French cauſe by a large bribe, and by his intrigues removed Monagee, the general of the army, from his maſter's favour. Dupleix, who ſtyled himſelf Nabob-governor, threatened alſo to bring down Sabatzing againſt us.

The French, who had received ſome reinforcements from Pondicherry, attempted to ſurpriſe Tirchinopoly. They croſſed the river Cauvery, under the command of Mr. Maiſſin; their forces were diſtributed according to the ſeveral falſe attacks they were to make upon the place. The real one was to be made by the French battalion. They had 800 men, 600 were to eſcalade, and Mr. Maiſſin with 200 more and a body of ſeapoys, to wait the event, prepared to join

join and ſecond the firſt party when they had got over the wall. They placed their ladders, and mounted to the number of 600 on Dalton's battery, without interruption, or the leaſt alarm in the garriſon.

The guard appointed for the batteries was 50 ſeapoys with their officers and two European gunners. The rounds had gone at twelve o'clock, and found them preſent and alert. However, when the French came, they were moſtly abſent or with the two European gunners aſleep. The French, perſuaded that firing alone would frighten the garriſon, turned two twelve pounders on the battery, againſt the town and diſcharged them, with a volley of ſmall arms; their drums beating and the ſoldiers crying out, *Vive le Roi.* Captain Killpatrick was then ill of his wounds. The next officer in command came to him for his orders; he bid him march inſtantly with the picquet reſerve, and the ſeapoys, who were not poſted, to the place where the attack was made, and to order every man to his reſpective alarm poſt, and not to ſtir from thence on pain of death. The French after their diſcharge, came down from the battery; and were between two walls. There was a ſlight gate in the inner wall, which led into the town. The man who was their guide, knew where it was; they had two petards ready to clap to it; and at the ſame time to amuſe the garriſon; another party was to eſclade the inner wall. The ſcheme was laid, and had not the French petulance diſcovered their deſign, they might have entered the town. Though the commanding officer could not diſcover the ſituation of the

the enemy; yet he did not forget the gate, on the flanks of which he poſted a number of men, with plenty of ammunition to fire from thence inceſſantly, whether they heard or ſaw any detachment of the enemy or not: and it was luckily he did, for the guide and petardier were found killed within ten yards of the gate, with two petards. The eſcaladers had ſo far ſucceeded as to fix ladders againſt the inner wall, and began to mount. The commanding officer of this party, preceded by his drummer, were the firſt who attempted to enter; the latter loſt his life, and the officer receiving a ſhot at the ſame time, was pulled within the town. The frequent flaſhes of fire, occaſioned by the briſkneſs of the attack and defence, were the only guide our artillery officer had to direct the pointing of his guns; he loaded them with grape, and ſucceeded ſo well, as to ſhatter the ladders, kill a number of men, and entirely diſappoint their well concerted ſcheme. They now only thought of making their eſcape, or ſecuring themſelves from the fire. The firſt was impracticable, their ladders being moſtly deſtroyed, and they within the firſt wall: ſome attempted leaping off the battery into the ditch, but the greater number lay hid under the parapet. The long wiſhed for day at laſt came, and diſcovered where the enemy were. They [illegible] for quarter, which was granted them. They loſt in that affair 364 Europeans taken priſoners, 65 of whom were wounded, including eight officers, beſides 40 private and ſome officers killed; many more were carried off wounded, or lamed.

Co-

Colonel Lawrence ſent the next day a re-inforcement to captain Killpatrick, as the number of his priſoners was much greater than his European garriſon; and the enemy threatened the place with another general aſſault. As a ſpecimen of Mr. Dupleix *modeſty and veracity*, ſpeaking of this miſcarriage in his letters, he ſays, *il fallut donc ſe retirer et meme avec partæ.*

Thus ended the campaign of 1753, in which colonel Lawrence ſhewed great ſkill and judgment; he did all that could be done againſt ſo great a ſuperiority of the enemy.

Mr. Buſſy with his army was ſtill attending and ſupporting Sallabatzing to the northward. Shaw Abadin Cawn, who had been appointed by the Mogul, prince of the Deckan, had too much employment on his hands as chief treaſurer of the empire, to think at that time of making good his pretenſions.

During theſe tranſactions, the two governors Saunders and Dupleix had opened a negociation. After many altercations, it was agreed between them to hold a congreſs at Sadraſs, a Dutch ſettlement. Accordingly commiſſaries were appointed. Thoſe on our ſide were Mr. Palk and Mr. Vanſittart. On theirs father Lavour, ſuperior general of the jeſuits in India, and Meſſieurs de Kerjean and de Bauſſet, who aſſembled at Madraſs, January 1754.

The marquis Dupleix, who had been aſſociated by Salbatzing in the government of the Deckan, was detected of impoſture and forgery. The grants he pretended to have received from the Mogul, appointing him governor from the river

Kreſtra to Cape Coſimorin, were found by a Perſian interpreter to be only copies, though produced as originals. On farther examination, it appeared to Mr. Vanſittart, who underſtood enough of the Perſian language to detect the fraud, to be a falſe ſeal fixed to them, called the Mogul's; the firſt having no date, and the only pretended original produced was a manifeſt forgery, for it had not the chop or ſmaller ſeal, on which is engraved the name of the Mogul, and from other tokens, it appeared that it had been borrowed from ſome old commiſſion.

This deceit and effrontery being detected, the congreſs was ſtopt and the commiſſaries were recalled on each ſide.

No crimes ever ſo flagrant, no villainy ever ſo glaring were omitted by this impudent upſtart to carry his point, and ſatisfy his intolerable pride.

His juſt diſgrace and exemplary puniſhment, at his return into France, though inadequate to his iniquitous depredations and unprecedented tyranny, gave univerſal ſatisfaction to all thoſe who had been acquainted with his villainous proceedings in India.

In the month of February, colonel Lawrence ſent a party for proviſions and ſtores, which conſiſted of two captains, ſix officers and 180 men, rank and file, four pieces of cannon, and 800 ſeapoys. The commanding officer from his miſconduct and diſobedience to his orders was defeated with his party; and what ſtill added to the loſs and diſgrace of that day, theſe brave grenadiers, who had ever behaved well and ſucceſsfully were either taken or cut to pieces; in this unhappy affair 134 men were made

made priſoners, 100 of which were wounded. Of the eight officers four were killed, and three wounded, four pieces of cannon and about 7000l. in money, with a large convoy of proviſions fell into the hands of the enemy. The French and their allies conſiſted of about 10,000 men, and ſeven pieces of cannon. This was a moſt heavy ſtroke, few men eſcaped, except thoſe whom the French troops ſaved, and even thoſe bore the marks of their defeat.

The command of the Engliſh ſeapoys was given to a Moor called Nelloure Subadan; he firſt raiſed a company of them in our ſervice. No man was better qualified in every reſpect for the polite *quarre*, being an excellent partizan, well acquainted with the country, with a courage and reſolution always guided by prudence and judgment.

Colonel Lawrence repoſed a great confidence in his ſkill and activity, as he was indefatigable in the field, and had the moſt early intelligence of the motions of the enemy.

At that time the linguiſt of the Engliſh army, who of courſe was acquainted with all their deſigns and motions, diſcovered to Nandereuze all he knew of their affairs. It was a moſt intricate piece of villainy, and it had been traced with incredible difficulties, as he was a moſt artful and plauſible ſcoundrel, whoſe ſchemes were almoſt impenetrable. When the fact was proved againſt him he was blown away from the mouth of a cannon; the common puniſhment of traitors.

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Colonel Lawrence being much indiſpoſed, the command devolved according to ſenority to captain Polier, a Swiſs officer, brave and enterpriſing; but he wanted ſteadineſs and conduct. A party commanded by captain Caillaud, who had an excellent head to plan, and an unſhaken reſolution to execute, had been ſent by colonel Lawrence to take poſt in the plain, and wait for a convoy of proviſions from Tordeman's country. Having received intelligence that the enemy were on the road, and had poſted themſelves where he was to wait for proviſions, he reſolved with the commander of the ſeapoys, to attack them immediately on their flank. They quickly drove the enemy, and obliged them to leave a tumbrel of ammunition behind, and ſome of their men. The Engliſh got another advantage over the enemy; they had two pieces of cannon in the front of the battalion oppoſite to the French; never were two pieces better ſerved when they were near enough, every ſhot took place in the French battalion. The enemy were ſo much galled by the briſkneſs of this cannonade, that they gave way in ſpit of all the efforts of their officers to keep them up. The ſmall arms compleated what the cannon had begun, and left the Engliſh at liberty to return to their camp. Captain Polier received two wounds, and was obliged to give up the command to the next officer. Captain Caillaud, brought the party home with the two diſmounted pieces of cannon. The Engliſh had in theſe two actions, ſix officers wounded, 96 private men, and about 200 ſeapoys killed and wounded. The enemy's loſs was much more conſiderable.

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Colonel Lawrence was hardly recovered before he took the field; he marched towards Tanjore, in hopes that his preſence with an army, would forward the ſucceſs of Mr. Palk's negociations. The French finding the King of Tanjore would not declare fell furiouſly upon the frontiers of his country, and cut in different places the bank which carry the water into his dominions. On this intelligence, colonel Lawrence marched immediately to Tanjore, dividing his force, and leaving a conſiderable garriſon with captain Killpatrick at Trichinopoly.

On the colonel's firſt day's march, he had a letter from the king, preſſing him to come, and wiſhing him joy on the late victory.

When colonel Lawrence came in ſight of Tanjore, the King came out of his fort to meet him; but the colonel was ſo ill, that he was obliged to ſend captain Caillaud, to make his apology. The next grand point for the Engliſh intereſt, was the removal of Succagee, their inveterate enemy, and to have Monagee reſtored to favour and power. The colonel knew his merit as a ſoldier, and his invariable attachment to the Engliſh, which he always thought his maſter's advantage and policy to ſupport. The circumſtances were favourable and captain Palk with captain Caillaud, managed ſo ſucceſsfully, that they convinced the King, all his misfortunes originated in his perfidious monſter's counſels, and that the enemy had not laid waſte his country had he fulfilled his engagements with the Nabob and the Engliſh. They boldly declared to the prince, that unleſs Succagee was removed from his perſon and counſels, and Monagee

nagee returned to his former rank, they would not repoſe any confidence, nor expect any benefit from his alliance. Though the King was unwilling to part from his favourite; when he ſaw that our friendſhip depended on this ſacrifice, Succagee was removed, and Monagee inveſted with the ſole direction of public affairs, and appointed once more commander in chief of all his forces. Every thing wore a promiſing aſpect, from ſo lucky change in our favour.

Governor Bourchier, who was always inclined to give the army any aſſiſtance in his power, wrote to colonel Lawrence from Madraſs, that the preſidency of Bombay, had ſent a detachment at his requeſt; another detachment came from Davacaltah, commanded by captain Zergler, conſiſting of 80 Europeans, and 400 ſeapoys. As the health of colonel Lawrence was much impaired by the viciſſitudes of the climate, and fifteen campaigns in which his military talents as a ſubaltern and commander had been conſpicuous, the governor and council, at his requeſt, ſent captain Killpatrick, a major's commiſſion, and conſented to his ſucceeding to the command, in caſe colonel Lawrence ſhould reſign it.

About this time, the French ſhips brought Mr. Godchur, commiſſary and gavernor general of all their ſettlements, with 1500 Europeans. Upon his arrival he wrote to Mr. Saunders, to acquaint him with his inclination to purſue pacific meaſures, in conſequence of which he ſent back the troops, which Mr. Dupleix had cauſed to be ſtopped in their paſſage, from Madraſs to Fort St. David. The governor and council pleaſed to find, they had

had now to deal with a perſon, who appeared to concur with them, in purſuing the true intereſt of the two commercial companies, were not long in ſending their anſwer to haſten the concluſion of an event ſo much to be wiſhed. A ſuſpenſion of arms was agreed on, and actually took place on the 11th of October 1754. The ſuſpenſion of arms was accompanied with another event of great importance to the tranquility of India; the departure of Mr. Dupleix, who being removed from the government, returned with the next ſhips to France. When colonel Lawrence reviewed the army, before he left the command, it conſiſted of 1200 men in battalion, 3000 ſeapoys and 14 pieces of cannon.

The Nabob being arrived within a mile of Arcot, the 19th of Auguſt 1755, reſolved to wait for a lucky day to make his entry into the city. Here he was met by colonel Lawrence, Mr. Palk, and Mr. Walſh, deputed to invite him to Madraſs. He readily conſented. On the 21ſt he made his entry into Arcot, in a very ſplendid manner, and the 30th he viſited Madraſs, and was received at the company's India-houſe by the governor, the admirals Watſon and Pocock, and moſt of the gentlemen of the place.

Colonel Lawrence appeared again in the field in the year 1757. He ſhewed on every occaſion the moſt earneſt diſpoſition to contribute in any ſhape to the advancement of all military operations, and offered to join the army as a volunteer when it was imagined Trichinopoly would have been the ſcene of action; his intention was to proceed with the troops from Fort St. David, for the defence of that place

place. Afterwards when the French army returned from Trichinopoly and were collected at Wandevaſh, he offered to embark with all the men that could be ſpared from Fort St. David, and to land at Sadraſs, in order to join the army in the moſt expeditious manner. Being ſenſible how much his abilities and experience would contribute to the regulation and good conduct of the army; and judging Fort St. David to be free from all danger, as the whole French force was on the other ſide. The preſidency approved of this propoſal, and colonel Lawrence landed accidentally near Sadraſs with about one hundred men; the 22d of June, three days after the march of the army, which he joined on the other ſide of Changalaput; nothing material happened in this campaign, that could add luſtre to his reputation. In December 1758, having received intelligence of a great augmentation of the enemy's force at Wandelour; the colonel ſent his aid de camp to Fort St. George, to deſire that he might be reinforced with as many men as poſſible; accordingly a party was ordered and marched immediately. Colonel Lawrence having received a letter from the governor, in which he deſired him not to hazard an action, unleſs upon terms of the higheſt advantage, as the utmoſt caution was neceſſary at this important criſis, and ordered three companies of infantry to march to the little mount with the two twelve pounders, as to re-inforce the party cantoned there; but the ſame time, they were directed to march to Madraſs, a precaution neceſſary, conſidering the weak ſtate of the garriſon and the motion of the enemy.

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Colonel Draper and the beſt officers paid always the utmoſt deference to colonel Lawrence's ſuperior authority and great judgment. General Lally having been forced to raiſe the ſiege of Madraſs the 17th of February 1759, to which the military knowledge, experience and activity of colonel Lawrence had effectually contributed; he left marks of his diſappointed rage unworthy of a ſoldier. Among the reſt of his devaſtations, he ordered, three barrels of gunpowder to be lodged in colonel Lawrence's country-houſe and blew it up. The colonel who had ſtill the chief command of the army, being deſirous of bringing on an action with the French general marched towards Conjeveram, where he had fortified himſelf againſt a ſudden attack. The colonel moved round it, expoſing his flank; but as he found nothing could provoke the enemy to ſtir, and being in a very bad ſtate of health, he prudently reſolved to quit the command rather than ſubject himſelf to fatigues which he could not bear, without a proſpect of performing the ſervice he intended to accompliſh; he therefore returned to England, leaving the command to major Brereton, a gallant officer and next in rank to colonel Draper, whoſe ill ſtate of health obliged him likewiſe to leave a climate which had proved ſo prejudicial to him.

No commanding officer in India did more real ſervices to the company, was more active in the field, more careful of the life and welfare of the ſoldier, more affable to the inferior officers, and at the ſame time more exact in the military diſcipline. Ever ſince this excellent officer retired, his unſpotted honour, his diſintereſtedneſs, his mode-

ration, his juſtice, during twenty years of toils and fatigues in Indoſtan, made him beloved, eſteemed and revered by the army, the preſidencies and the natives. He died lately, at the age of ſeventy-eight, in peace with his conſcience, full of years, and leaving a name equally reſpected in Europe and on the Ganges.

Lord Clive did not arrive at Calcutta till May 3, 1765. Jaffier Alli Cawn, who after having been depoſed in November 1760, was in July 1763, again raiſed to the Suabah ſhip, died at Calcutta, where he was waiting for lord Clive in February 1765, and was ſucceeded as Subah by his ſon.

All the eyes of the Eaſt-India proprietors and of the princes of Indoſtan were turned on his lordſhip, having been pointed out by his friends and connections as the only man who could again retrieve the affairs at Bengal, which had been repreſented as deſperate by that party. On his arrival at Bengal he directly joined the army at Eliabad. Of all men, lord Clive ſhould have been the laſt to begin his ſyſtem of reformation, by reducing the pay of the military officers in the Eaſt-India company's ſervice, as he owed himſelf all his importance the immenſe fortune he had ſquandered, and his jaghire to the great indulgence of the company, in permitting him to enjoy ſuch unprecedented advantages, in conſequence of his magnified ſervices as a ſoldier. The ſelect committee of which the noble lord was preſident, conſiſted of William Sumner, John Carnac, Harry Verelſt and Francis Sykes, eſquires, all unanimous in ſupporting the new meaſures and regulations, of the commander in chief.

The

The reſignations of moſt of the officers in Bengal made then a great noiſe in England and the Peninſula, and their conduct was miſrepreſented as mutiny and an unlawful aſſociation. Every unprejudiced and impartial man muſt condemn the impolitic conduct of the ſelect committee, in driving to deſpair a great number of reſpectable and uſeful officers, by taking off the batta, and depriving them of every advantage which can make the life of a ſoldier tolerable in that country. The batta, is an extraordinary allowance, paid the military, when on actual ſervice in the field. What made the meaſure appear more odious was, that this oeconomical reduction was inforced by men who had felt themſelves the hardſhips of a ſubordinate ſtation in the company's ſervice, now regardleſs of the diſtreſſes of the army, to which they owed their very exiſtence, their fortune and their elevation. The object of the ſelect committee could not be to retrench the unneceſſary expences of the company, as the emoluments of the reformers were encreaſed every day by new monopolies, and the company's treaſure was laviſhed in articles of convenience and luxury for the members of the council.

When the firſt orders for reducing the batta of the officers were iſſued from the ſelect committee, they filled the heart of every officer with ſurprize and indignation, eſpecially at the concluſion of the hard campaign of 1765, at an immenſe diſtance from their ſettlements, and an unprecedented expence by any Engliſh army in Bengal; for the officers were obliged to have their baggage tranſported upon men's heads over an extent of up-

wards of 800 miles, at the rate of 5l. per month for every couley or porter employed. This heavy charge had embarraſſed the circumſtances of every officer who had no other reſources but his pay, and nine out of ten were in debt, when the army went into winter quarters.

Never was a more improper period than this for ſuch an injudicious reduction, when the officers after a tedious and expenſive campaign undergone in the hot ſeaſon of a torrid climate, ſaw themſelves not only precluded from all ſhare in the rich fruits of their eſſential ſervices, but even curtailed in their old eſtabliſhed advantages.

When theſe orders reached the different brigades, all the officers unanimouſly agreed to ward off their impending diſtreſs by ſpirited and reſpectful remonſtrances to the preſident and council of Calcutta.

The officers of general Carnac's brigade, under the command of Sir Robert Fletcher ſtationed at Mongheer, had benn in all the ſervice of the year 1765. In the firſt tranſports of their rage, they propoſed to abandon the ſervice of their ungrateful maſters who ſeemed reſolved to make them pine away upon a wretched pittance of rice and water; but this was over-ruled, and a motion made for addreſſing the governor and council, in a becoming memorial, ſetting forth the diſtreſſes in which the new regulations would inevitably plunge the officers and praying for a ſuſpenſion, at leaſt of the order, till the affair could be repreſented to the company at home. This after ſome debate was agreed to, and the following paper was drawn up and forwarded

warded to general Carnac, to be by him delivered to the board.

To the Right Honourable the Preſident and Council.

Gentlemen,

" It is with the greateſt reſpect we now preſume to lay before your board, the hardſhips we labour under ſince the reduction of our former allowance, and we flatter ourſelves, that what we ſhall now offer, will appear reaſonable, and induce the board to comply with this our requeſt.

" We beg leave to repreſent, we find the quarter batta inadequate to the unavoidable expence attending the character of an officer. The extraordinary batta allowed on this eſtabliſhment, in preference to the other eſtabliſhments, only puts us on the ſame footing with them, yet it is well known, that European commodities, which we moſt want, are ſold forty or fifty per cent. dearer here than at either of the ſettlements of Madraſs or Bombay, and the difference is nearly the ſame between this place and the preſidency; as likewiſe ſervants wages and moſt other neceſſaries bear the ſame proportion; ſo that we hope, ſetting forth the preſent allowance not to be proper ſubſiſtence, will not appear an unjuſt repreſentation, but a notice ſufficient for a repeal of the order of the firſt of January.

" Were we to enumerate the ſevere hardſhips we endured the laſt campaign, we flatter ourſelves men-

mentioning that alone, and the irreparable hurt our conſtitution have ſuffered from a climate ſo prejudicial to every European, would have ſome weight, ſhould we requeſt the former allowance, on the ſame footing as an indulgence; but we hope the above ſhort repreſentation of facts will ſuffice, leaving to your own known candour and impartiality to ſuggeſt, what elſe we might advance to induce you to a compliance with this our moſt reſpectful requeſt.

We have the honour to ſubſcribe ourſelves with the greateſt reſpect, &c."

The general in his anſwer reprimanded ſeverely the officers for applying to him, and the board did not deign to take notice of their memorial. This illiberal treatment inflamed their reſentment. and about the middle of April 1766, they came to a ſudden reſolution to gain their point, or to reſign their commiſſions, on the firſt day of May next; but in ſuch a manner, as to give as little cauſe for complaint againſt them, or for diſturbance amongſt the men as poſſible; they even offered to ſerve as volunteers, untill other officers could be collected to take charge of the troops.

This oppreſſive and tyrannical behaviour to the officers was ſtill aggravated, by every act of ſophiſtry, to exhibit the injured in the odious light of criminal inſurgents. The vile abettors of the meaſure, publiſhed with equal impudence and falſity, that the motive of the reſignation was to unhinge government and ſend the ſelect committee priſoners to England. Such inſinuations could only

only proceed from their apprehenſions, and the conſciouſneſs of their injuſtice. Had the officers ever entered into ſuch a conſpiracy againſt the preſident and council of Bengal, they had no occaſion to petition for redreſs, as they could have ſoon righted themſelves, with the ſoldiery at their command.

The ſerjeants and common men had divers meetings, and engaged to ſtand by their officers to a man, and not to ſerve any other after their reſignation. The moment this was known, every officer thought his honour concerned in diſcountenancing any ſtep leading to alienate the duty of the ſoldier, though their diſcontent proceeded from the wrongs done to their commanders.

Sir Robert Fletcher can bear witneſs of this from their behaviour to him and the company; indeed, ſo very cautious were they of giving their natural enemy, any room to aſperſe their characters, that captain Wilding and lieutenant Petrie, with the knowledge and by the deſire of the other officers, waited upon the commanding officer, and acquainted him with the diſpoſition of the brigade, aſſuring him they were ready to ſacrifice their lives in ſupport of the authority of the company over their troops and poſſeſſions. And when it was found expedient to divide the brigade, to prevent more effectually any evil conſequence from the reſignation, the officers actually marched out with the men at their expence and in danger of an inſurrection, and encamped at ſome diſtance from the fort, till they were ordered to quit the country; they

obeyed

obeyed readily, as they had done on any former order under very different circumſtances.

From all theſe facts, it is evident, that the bloody intentions of the officers, had no exiſtence but in the brain of their oppreſſors. Tyranny commonly throws a veil over its wicked acts, by colouring oppreſſion with the pretence of neceſſary ſeverity.

On the firſt of May, the following letter ſigned by every officer in the garriſon, the brigade major excepted, was ſent to the commanding officer with every gentleman's commiſſion.

To Lieutenant Sir Robert Fletcher, commanding the firſt brigade at Mongheer.

SIR,

"That we might put it entirely out of the power of either the world or our own conſcience to condemn us for deſiring leave to reſign our commiſſions in the honourable company's ſervice, we have ſerved four months in, obedience to the orders of the 31ſt of December, and are now but too well convinced that our former ſuſpicions were true; for notwithſtanding the propoſed reduction of ſervants wages, and diminiſhing every unneceſſary attendant, we find we cannot live upon the preſent allowance, but muſt run in debt every month, as long as we have any credit. We muſt appear upon the parade, as become officers and keep up our reſpective ranks or diſobey public orders. We muſt eat and drink as befits the climate, or fall a ſacrifice to hunger

hunger and ſickneſs; and to do all theſe only in moderation, we muſt run ourſelves in debt to every one who will give us credit, be they gentlemen or the loweſt of the creation; and ſo fall under the laſh of another article of war, for behaving unlike gentlemen. You know that we have applied for redreſs in the humbleſt manner, and that it has been refuſed us. It is needleſs for us here to call upon you for a witneſs of our attachment to the ſervice; our behaviour through a ſeries of campaigns muſt bear down all ſlander. Many of us have eat the company's bread for ſome years and are deeply concerned that we can no longer do it with honour; all of us are ſorry to be obliged to take this method of preventing ruin and miſery falling upon ourſelves and connections, and we ſincerely wiſh that our maſters may meet with a ſet of officers as much devoted to their ſervice as we have always wiſhed to prove ourſelves, and who may maintain the company's affairs, to the lateſt poſterity, in that ſplendor to which we have happily raiſed them. But unleſs the pay and emoluments of their troops are again reſtored to what they were in July and Auguſt, 1763; our prayers are all we can now give them.

As it is from principle we now reſign the ſervice, it would give us the greateſt uneaſineſs ſhould the company's affairs ſuffer by ſo ſudden a reſignation; we have therefore reſolved to ſerve till the 15th of this month of May, without pay of any kind, or being eſteemed officers in their ſervice; when an anſwer may be had from thoſe gentlemen of the council, who we know have the power of redreſſing us, or of filling up our places with other officers,

provided, you desire it. It would make us truly unhappy should any disturbandes arise amongst the men from this affair being known to them. We therefore beg you will take the necessary precautions of keeping all quiet; and as we are to receive no pay, you will be so good to give the pay-master directions for leaving the abstract for the non commissioned and private men.

Our commissions accompany this, which we beg you will keep, and believe us to be with respect,

SIR,

Your most obedient humble servants,

Mongheer, May 1st, 1766.

To which letter the commanding officer returned the following answer:

Mongheer, May 1st. 1766.

GENTLEMEN,

I have received your letter of this date, together with your commissions; and shall, agreeable to your request, take the most expeditious method of obtaining you an answer from our superiors. I agree with you, in thinking it better, that the soldiers remained ignorant of the measures you have taken; and I desire you will continue to do duty as officers, according to your former respective ranks, until we know the pleasure of the governor and council.

I am, with regard,

Gentlemen,

Your most obedient and humble servant,

(Signed) ROBERT FLETCHER.

The ſame evening it was thought expedient for half of the troops to be marched out of the garriſon, as if going upon an expedition, and to encamp at ſome diſtance from the Fort; in conſequence of which every thing remained quiet till the 6th, when captain Welding and lieutenant Petrii were made priſoners, and ſent down to Calcutta, by orders from Lord Clive, and their going to colonel Sir Robert Fletcher, was the aſſigned cauſe of this act of violence.

This is a ſtriking inſtance of the deſpotic tyranny which Lord Clive exerciſed in his preſidency. Thoſe two gentlemen were puniſhed, as if they had been guilty of the moſt enormous crimes, for having been too zealous in their duty, and too nice in their notions of honour: for they informed Sir Robert Fletcher of their ſuſpicions of a meeting at the riſque of their lives. Beſides, they were liable to the penalty of the articles of war, till they had actually reſigned the ſervice, had they not revealed their apprehenſions to the commanding officer. It was not without the moſt earneſt ſolicitations, that theſe gentlemen prevented the whole brigade from accompanying them in a body to Calcutta, or reſcuing them ſword in hand from their confinement; as they thought this cruel and unprecedented treatment, an act of unwarrantable injuſtice and oppreſſion; ſince every man has an undoubted right to reſign that employ in which he is only a monthly ſervant, when he cannot ſubſiſt upon his allowance, without being ſubject to the miſeries of a felon or deſerter.

Soon

Soon after captain Wilding and Mr. Petrie, had left Mongheer, the confidence between the officers and the colonel ſeemed to decreaſe gradually, till an order was iſſued for eight officers to leave the garriſon inſtantly, and proceed to Calcutta. This was followed by a peremptory command to all the remaining officers to leave the diſtrict of Mongheer in one hour's time; otherwiſe they ſhould be driven away by force, and eſteemed enemies to their country.

Lord Clive was then on his way to Patna; this perſecution is an indelible blot on his memory, and will ſtamp the names of thoſe who were inſtruments of it with eternal infamy. To ſee gallant men who had ſpent their youth and their vigour in the military ſervice of the company, and purchaſed honour with the loſs of their limbs, and their conſtitutions viſibly impaired in the unhealthy climate of Bengal, treated like the vileſt malefactors, and dragged unmercifully with fixed bayonets to their breaſt, to a lawleſs court, forced to abandon their property to ravenous enemies, is a ſhocking inſtance of the moſt flagrant abuſe of power. Some of theſe gentlemen, of families ſuperior to any of the council, were carried without the walls of the fort in the depth of ſalivation; others had juſt taken emetics, the effect of which was prevented by this barbarity, and the lame were obliged to limp off on their crutches, to avoid the military inſtruments of tyrannic power.

Such are the miſeries which Engliſhmen are doomed to ſuffer when removed far from the influence of the happy conſtitution of their native

ſive country; in a place where power gave law and force was ſubſtituted to right, and where no man was found brave enough to ſhake the rod of correction over the head of lawleſs authority.

Before the officers left the garriſon the men got under arms, and ſeemed reſolved to accompany their injured commanders; but ſeeing their officers diſcourage the attempt, in refuſing to command them, they were ſoon diſperſed to their quarters, by quieting them with money and intoxicating them with liquor.

Next day lord Clive arrived at Mongheer, and by flattering the common men, and illiberally endeavouring to make the unhappy ſufferers contemptible, at the expence of every human virtue; forced them to diſſemble their reſentment by his profuſion; having in a few days diſtributed to the ſeapoys and ſoldiers, larger ſums of money than would have ſatisfied the poor diſtreſſed officers of the whole army for a year. This was one of the inſtances of his lordſhip's eoconomy, but notwithſtanding this apparent tranquility and ſubmiſſion, the company would have loſt their beſt officers and men, had not the the inſidious arts of Lord Clive's prevailed on the ſelfiſhneſs and puſilanimity of ſeveral officers, who had juſt left the ſervice, to reſume their commiſſions. Some of them had engaged to reſign, with the treacherous intention, to riſe on the ruin of their brother officers, whoſe unſpotted honour ſcorned all the advantages which they might have reaped from the violation of it.

Others

Others were ſeduced or intimidated; ſo that in a ſhort time the cauſe was deſerted, and only the few who had courage to prefer independence to thraldom, and indigence, to ignominious promotions, remained ſufferers on this occaſion. Being either ſent forcibly to England, or indulged by the little tyrants of Calcutta, to earn their ſubſiſtance in that neſt of rapacious demagogues by means no ways ſuitable to their feelings and their education. Several meanly ſubmitted to loſe five or ſix years dear bought rank, to ſerve again unjuſt and arbitrary maſters. The abſolute reſignation of the officers who had ſpirit to reſent lord Clive's arbitrary proceedings, and a manly ſteadineſs in rejecting commiſſions, they could not re-aſſume without diſgrace, was conſtrued as an unlawful inſurrection againſt government, by the very people who had dared to change the conſtitution of Bengal, originally mild and limited according to the Engliſh laws into deſpotiſm unparalelled even in the Turkiſh empire.

In the abſence of lord Clive, Mr. Sumner reigned at Calcutta, he paid a ſervile and implicit obedience to the noble lord's mandates, when in ſecond; but he filled the chair in his abſence, with the ſame overbearing haughtineſs and uncontrouled authority. He had denounced vengeance againſt all the diſcontented, and he is reported to have ſaid of the officers brought to Calcutta with infamy, "There are four of them coming down "priſoners, I wiſh there were twenty-four, that "I might have the pleaſure of hanging them all."

When captain Wilding and Mr. Petrie arrived at Calcutta, they waited upon this deputy-gover-

nor,

nor, to acquaint him of their having reſigned their commiſſions and their intention of reſiding in that ſeat of inſolence and cruelty. To which he anſwered, That having been put under arreſt, by ſir Robert Fletcher, they muſt remain ſo till lord Clive's pleaſure was known. They ſtrenuouſly proteſted againſt this act of violence and injuſtice; alledging, that as they held no military employment, they could in no degree be ſubject to military law. They withdrew after this declaration. The ſame evening the fort adjutant came to their lodgings, and told them he had the governor's orders to put them under an arreſt; they refuſed to obey for the reaſons mentioned above, deſiring him to minute their anſwers in writing, and not trouble them for the future with ſuch a meſſage. He returned again the next morning and inſiſted on their obeying the arreſt, as officers in the Eaſt-India company; and on their perſiſting in their firſt reſolution he acquainted them, that he had orders of the governor and council to carry them forcibly from their lodgings and confine them in the new fort under a guard, and if they ſhut their doors, he had orders to place centinels before the door, and ſtarve them into compliance; and for that purpoſe he had placed before the door a guard of thirty men. Mr. Gideon Johnſtone in whoſe houſe this happened, over hearing the laſt part of the threat, acquainted the adjutant, that if he dared to enter his houſe, or to place centinels upon it, he would proſecute him and all concerned to the utmoſt rigour of the law; and at the ſame time leave to the mercy of the ſoldiers the property

of

[illegible] ny private merchants depoſited into his houſe, e amount of ſome lacks of rupees.

This ſpirited and legal warning, ſtaggered his reſolution, and he departed to acquaint the deputy-governor with the oppoſition he had met. He knew the firmneſs and reſolution of Mr. Johnſtone, eſpecially on a legal reſiſtance to military force; and having been deterred from making a forcible entry into a houſe of ſuch conſequence by the very charter, which Mr. John Holme the ductile lawyer of the council, had endeavoured in vain to explain in his favour: he ſuſpended for a time the effects of his reſentment; however, the gentlemen kept their doors barricaded, to prevent the adjutant from executing his violent menaces.

In this dilemma, they ſent for an attorney of the mayor's court, to inſtruct them in the method of procuring their liberty, by an application to the civil power; but he told them candidly, that there was no ſuch thing as law at Calcutta; nor could they hope for any redreſs in India; that his office obliged him to take a retaining fee from them, yet he would take it as a favour if they would not inſiſt upon it, for his appearance in their cauſe might ruin him in the ſettlement; and then without leaving them time to reply, wiſhed them good morning.

In this ſituation things remained till the quarter ſeſſions came on, when they determined to try their cauſe before the grand jury, not doubting to find ſhelter and protection under that palladium of Engliſh liberty. Accordingly on the firſt day of the ſeſſions they ſent the following letter to the foreman of the grand jury.

To

To James Liſter, Eſq; foreman, and the Members of the Grand Jury.

Gentlemen,

We hope you will excuſe the liberty we now take in addreſſing you on a ſubject of the moſt intereſting nature to ourſelves, to you and to every free born Engliſhman, who lives under the protection of that bleſſed conſtitution; and that you will, as far as in your power, grant us that redreſs, which the extraordinary circumſtances of our caſe require, which are as follow,

On the firſt of this month we reſigned our commiſſion in the honourable company's ſervice, which were accepted of by the commanding officer at Mongheer, where we then were, nor have we received any pay ſince the 30th of April. Laſt night after we had been twenty days out of the ſervice, the fort adjutant came to our lodgings, and ſaid he had the acting governor's orders to put us on arreſt, which we refuſed to obey, alledging we were not ſubject in any degree to military diſcipline, but were ready to anſwer any charge brought againſt us according to the laws of England. This morning he returned again; and in order to intimidate us into a ſubmiſſion to military law, ſaid he had the orders of the government and council to carry us out of our lodgings with a military force, if we did not inſtantly obey the arreſt; and that if we ſhut our doors he would place the centinels upon them. We returned the ſame anſwer as before,

and ever ſince have been in hourly expectation of ſeeing our lodgings beſet with military guards, by which we are entirely prevented from going about our own affairs, and put in fear of our lives. Thus are our moſt valuable privileges of Engliſhmen, ſet at nought, and trampled upon; thus are we kept priſoners in our own houſe, from fear of being aſſaulted when we go abroad, and thus is the government become military, and we are at once made liable to all the conſequences which it is needleſs for us to point out, as they muſt be but too obvious to every one who reflects that he is a Briton, and a ſon of freedom, unleſs the civil power heartily interferes to prevent ſuch unprecedented proceedings, before they have gained too great a head. When we reflect upon the tranſactions of this day, when we reflect that we appealed to the laws of our country, and when we reflect that that appeal was diſregarded, how can we but tremble for our liberties, which lie at the laſt gaſp. If we have committed any crime we are ready to anſwer for it, and ſhall rejoice to be tried by an impartial jury: to that we fly for protection againſt ſuch unwarrantable and lawleſs proceedings. If through ignorance we have committed any error in point of form, we hope you will excuſe it, and eſteem as your diſtreſſed fellow ſubjects,

(Signed) Benj. Wilding,
John Petrie.

In conſequence of this letter, they were carried before the foreman and jury by a peace officer; and after being ſworn and examined, they were,

con-

conducted back to their lodgings, exulting in the hope of obtaining redreſs againſt their oppreſſors.

Let it be remembered to the laſting infamy of Britiſh ſettlers in the firſt precedency of Indoſtan, that there were not twelve honeſt men found to ſtand forth the aſſertors of that liberty inherent to their birthright. Ten declared for the cauſes of freedom, and ſeven for arbitrary power: and the judges were of opinion, that only twelve could conſtitute a legal majority. The expiring ſpirit of liberty, in the laſt ſtruggles againſt tyranny, curſed theſe ſeven proſtitutes to power; but not a ſingle ſpark of that noble principle blazed forth ſince that period.

When the juries were to have been ſworn, there were twenty in the court; but when ſixteen had taken the oath, Mr. Verelſt made the clerk of the peace call them over twice to know the number, and probably the names before he would permit the ſeventeenth to take the oath, and immediately upon its being adminiſtered to them, the other three were required to leave the court, for the jury was pronounced to be compleat. If this is law, ſure it cannot be equity.

The ſituation of the two oppreſſed gentlemen, was now more deplorable than ever. Given up by men who aſſumed the power of ſuſpending the laws to the mercy of their enemies, they had nothing to expect but the utmoſt ſeverity; yet the officers knowing Mr. Johnſton's determination to proſecute to the utmoſt extent of the ſeverity of the law, any daring attempt againſt the gentlemen protected under his roof, would not enter it by

force, unleſs expreſly authorized by the order of Lord Clive.

In the mean time an attorney, bolder than the reſt, ventured to acquaint them, that they might at any time, bind the adjutant over to the peace, as well as any of his abettors; upon which each of them wrote the following letter.

To Randolph Marriott, Eſq; one of his Majeſty's Juſtices of the Peace.

SIR,

On the 26th of this current month, a perſon who calls himſelf lieutenant Baldwin, fort adjutant, came to the houſe where I reſide, and threatened to bring a military force, conſiſting of a jamader and thirty ſeapoys, and carry me by violence a priſoner to the new Fort, there to confine me, if I would not ſubject myſelf to military law, after I had informed him twice, that I held no military employment, and was therefore not ſubject to military law. As this threatening has never been taken off, I have ever ſince lived in fear of my life; and am deterred from going about my lawful affairs; which ſuffers great impediments for fear of an aſſault in the ſtreets: with a view to bring him to condign puniſhment, I muſt requeſt you will bind him over to peace, as well as ſeveral other perſons unknown to me, his abettors, and whom he called by the name of governor and council; but as I am apprehenſive of being ſeized by this man in my way to you, I muſt likewiſe requeſt you will order a peace officer to protect me till I come

come before you, and make oath to the truth of what I have herein ſet forth.

I am, ſir, your moſt obedient ſervant,

(one copy ſigned) Ben. Wilding,
(another) John Petrie.

After ſeveral fruitleſs letters that paſſed between theſe gentlemen, and the juſtice wholly influenced againſt his oath, according to the dictates of a tyrannical ruler. The fort adjutant waited upon them, and in the moſt reſpectful terms delivered the compliments of the governor and council, telling them, that as Sir Robert Fletcher had accepted their reſignation, they were no longer priſoners, but at liberty to go where they pleaſed. Tyrannical pride and meanneſs appeared moſt conſpicuous through the whole courſe of theſe proceedings.

The unrelenting perſecution of the governor and council of Calcutta againſt thoſe who had reſigned their commiſſions in the army, where they could no longer ſupport the character of gentlemen, was carried on with more violence than ever.

Mr. Randolph Marriott the acting juſtice, who pay'd a ſervile obedience to their dictates, in open violation of the laws, and a flagrant contempt of all rules of equity, had referred the injured officers to the authority which had ſent their oppreſſors, and pretended he could not interfere as an act of parliament had pointed out a method of redreſs. It was undoubtedly an unpardonable remiſſneſs of the legiſlature to have ſo long neglected to make inquiries about theſe daring abuſes of the laws

laws of England, the protection of which the meaneſt ſubject in the company's ſettlements has an unqueſtionable right to claim. The juſtices of the peace in all the Engliſh preſidencies, are members of the council, and derive from their power to oppreſs, the right of being inveſted with the magiſtracy. Whoever takes the trouble to trace back the origin and illiberal education of the fortunate emigrants into India, who have ruled uncontrolled for twenty years paſt over the princes of the country and their fellow citizens, will find that they were untutored and pennyleſs boys, who left England at the age of ſixteen or ſeventeen, and were ever afterwards taught to believe, their ignorance of the laws was immaterial, as the diſpenſing power of the governor and council is the ſtandard of equity. The peremptory orders from the company at home, or the monopolizing rapacious ſpirit of their ſervants abroad, decide ultimately on the moſt important cauſes, and the extenſive connections of the members of the council, concerned directly or indirectly in all branches of trade for import and export, make them judges and parties in all ſuits and caſes. Thus the magiſtrates inſtead of adminiſtering juſtice according to their oath and their conſcience, ſacrificed both to a ſervile non-reſiſtance to tyranny and oppreſſion.

We ſhall ſubmit the narrative of Mr. Vernon Duffield relative to his own caſe, and that of Mr. Francis Robertſon of Bengal, to the judgment of the impartial reader.

Having ſerved many years in the army at Bengal, I was one of the many officers who thought themſelves injured and diſtreſſed, by the ſudden reduc-

tion

tion of the eſtabliſhed batta money, in December 1765, by lord Clive and his ſecret Committee; and who, after waiting in fruitleſs hopes of a favourable iſſue to their remonſtances, came to a reſolution to reſign on the firſt of May 1766. The brigade I belonged to lay in cantonment, at Bankipore near Patna, under the command of colonel Sir Robert Barker, who ſent me an order immediately after I had reſigned my commiſſion, to repair to Calcutta the very next day. Upon this I waited on Sir Robert Barker, to be acquainted with the reaſons of my having ſo ſhort notice given me; particularly as he knew my wife and family were with me, totally unprepared for ſo long a journey, and my private concerns altogether unſettled; and farther to requeſt, that if (notwithſtanding I was no longer in the company's military ſervice) I muſt go, he would allow me a few days more to ſettle my affairs. My remonſtrances and requeſt had no effect: whereupon I aſked colonel Barker, if he would ſtand to all the conſequences of the loſſes that may happen of my valuable effects, from the dangers of the river, as well as of thoſe I ſhould, on ſo ſhort a notice, be neceſſitated to leave behind me: the colonel returned for anſwer, that I muſt go, and that he would ſtand to every thing he did; whereupon I was obliged to leave Bankipore that evening; taking with me my wife and family, and leaving behind unadjuſted debts that were due to me to the amount of 16,000 rupees. The boats on the company's account, provided by colonel Barker to carry me to Calcutta, appeared ſo exceſſively bad, that I could not think of venturing myſelf and family with them; and having luckily

a boat

a boat of my own, I embarked with my family on board my own boat, putting my baggage in the boats provided for that purpoſe; fearing much at the ſame time that they would not be able to undergo the voyage to Calcutta which was about 450 miles off. Juſt after my arrival at a place called Noon Galah, I received an order from colonel Barker, that I muſt not on any account touch, or call at Mongheer, on my way. On my paſſage down, one of the company's boats with a part of my baggage on board, to the amount of one thouſand rupees, was loſt in a ſtorm near Bhar; whereupon I wrote to colonel Barker, informing him of the accident, and that in conſequence of his declaration, "that he ſhould ſtand to the conſequence "of this ſending me out of the country." I ſhould ſend him an account of the particulars of my loſs, and call upon him for the amount: to which letter he never returned any anſwer. Having procured another boat at my own expence, to take in ſuch part of the baggage as was ſaved from the wreck, I proceeded on till we arrived at Bandacoot, a place about 100 miles off Calcutta; where, not finding water ſufficient to carry boats any further, I was under the neceſſity of leaving the boats and of travelling over land with my family and baggage at my own expence; which including boat-hire, bearers, cooleys, hackeries and other travelling charges coſt me about 600 rupees before I arrived at Calcutta, which was the beginning of June; having been better than a month on my paſſage down.

On the 9th of June 1766, I received an order from the governor and council of Calcutta, in which

which four other gentlemen were included, directing us to hold ourſelves in readineſs to embark for Europe by the returning ſhips of that ſeaſon. As this was an unprecedented thing, I imagined it was done with a deſign to frighten us into the ſervice again; and finding afterwards that many of the reſigners had again actually entered into the ſervice, and farther conſidering I was in rank near a majority, and that if the governor and council ſhould perſiſt in carrying their order for my ſuddenly going to Europe into execution by force, it would be the cauſe of inevitable ruin to me and my family; I therefore was neceſſitated to make every ſubmiſſion that could be made with decency and propriety to the preſident and council, as well as to ſeveral particular members, in order to procure my reinſtatement; but my applications and ſubmiſſions were all ineffectual.

On the 18th of Auguſt 1766, to my great ſurprize I received a letter from Mr. William Alderſey, ſecretary; informing me, "that in conſequence of the notice already given me of the 9th of June 1766, to prepare for returning to Europe, for the part I bore in the late reſignation of officers of the army; he was ordered, by the right honourable lord Clive, preſident, and the council of Calcutta, to acquaint me that I muſt accordingly embark on board the lord Camden, which ſhip was expected to ſail towards the end of the month; and that captain Smith was furniſhed with an order for receiving me on board with my neceſſaries.

At this time my wife was gone three months with child. Such unexpected news, and the reflection of my being thus cruelly torn from her, overcame

her ſo much that ſhe fell ſick and a violent fever enſued which had near coſt her life; and in the middle of this illneſs ſhe miſcarried.

I found from captain Smith, commander of the lord Camden, who had likewiſe received his orders from the governor and council, that I was to be taken on board as a charter party paſſenger, and ſhould have but bad accommodations on board. Charter-party paſſengers are ſent home at the company's expence, and are entitled to ſhip's proviſions as common ſailors. It was putting a gentleman on a footing with the felons tranſported from England to America, at the expence of the crown.

In the midſt therefore of my diſtreſſes, I once more addreſſed the governor and council in the moſt ſubmiſſive terms, requeſting that, in conſideration of my long, faithful, and known ſervices in the company military employ, I might as well as others, be re-admitted to my former ſtation. I farther repreſented the diſtreſſed ſituation of my ſelf and family, and that I could not thus go to Europe without inevitable ruin.

In anſwer to this my humble ſupplication, I received a letter from Mr. ſecretary Alderſey, dated Calcutta the 25th of Auguſt 1766, informing me, "that he was ordered by the right honourable the preſident and council to acknowledge the receipt of my letter to them, and to acquaint me, in anſwer, that they were determined to have their orders duly complied with; and unleſs I did repair on board the lord Camden in proper time, purſuant to the notice I had already received, that I might be aſſured the company's orders would be put in execution, by embarking me by force.

On

On Friday the 29th of Auguſt, lord Clive ordered his aid-de-camp captain Upton, to acquaint me, that he expected I would go on board the ſhip lord Cambden, captain Smith, on the Monday next, as the captain went on board that day, and that Mr. Kerſall the commiſſary general had orders to provide me with boats. As I had before heard colonel Barker declare, in preſence of ſeveral officers, that lord Clive would ſacrifice himſelf, family and fortune, and even the whole ſettlement, rather than give up his point. I now plainly perceived it was impoſſible to ſoften his inhuman heart to compaſſion, but that I ſhould ſhortly be torn from my family, fortune, and every thing dear to me. All that I could do on this occaſion, in the ſettlements of Calcutta, was to cauſe the notary public, Mr. John Holme, to draw up two proteſts againſt lord Clive, the council, and captain Nathaniel Smith, of the lord Cambden; which was accordingly done, and one of them I preſented to the governor and council, and the orher to captain Smith.

On the morning of the 3d of September captain Upton came to my houſe, and informed me that lord Clive had ſent him to me, to deſire I would not repel force by force, as he intended that afternoon to ſend an officer with a party of ſeapoys to force me on board the lord Camden; and that his lordſhip farther deſired him to acquaint me, that he would give me all the law on my ſide that I could require, as he was fully determined *to break into my houſe*, either at the houſe or windows. I deſired captain Upton to preſent my reſpects to lord Clive, and acquaint him, that I was reſolved not

to go on board any ſhip by conſent, and that his lordſhip might uſe what force he pleaſed, as I would ſooner looſe my life than be ſeparated from my wife, family and fortune, in ſuch a cruel and unlawful manner.

Accordingly the next morning, being the 4th of September, enſign Peter Angerſteen entered and ſurrounded my houſe with a ſerjeant and twelve or fourteen ſeapoys, in order to ſeize my perſon; but on my perceiving the guard enter the door of the forepart of my houſe, I being then in the hall, ſhut the doors of the room againſt them, expecting the guard would break them open, as captain Upton had before acquainted me his lordſhip's intentions were; but enſign Angerſteen finding I had ſhut the windows of my houſe, immediately planted ſix centinels at the doors and windows, and gave ſtrict orders to the guard, not to ſuffer either victuals or drink to be admitted to me, nor any perſon to have any communication with me. My wife at this time being in an adjacent room of the houſe, was not permitted to come into the apartment I was in, nor even ſuffered to talk to me through the bars of the windows. Upon my aſking enſign Angerſteen by what authority he acted ſo imprudently and unlawfully? he told me it was by lord Clive's poſitive order, which he had ſigned and ſealed by his lordſhip's own hand. At my requeſt he read part of the order to me, ſtanding at a diſtance from the window, purporting "that he, Angerſteen, was to take a guard, and ſecure the perſons of captain Vernon Duffield and enſign Francis Robertſon, not to ſuffer any perſon or perſons whatſoever to go in or to come out, or allow

low proviſions, liquors or ſupplies of any kind to be conveyed to them, without his lordſhip's expreſs orders, and that he might try to get in at the windows, or by any other fineſſe to ſecure their perſons."

When enſign Angerſteen had read thus much of his orders, he put them in his pocket. I begged he would read the whole to me: but he refuſed doing it, and went away leaving the guards ſtationed as before-mentioned. Dinner being ready, my wife and ſome of my ſervants approached to give me ſome victuals through the bars of the windows; upon which the centinels puſhed them away with great inſolence, and abuſed them to the higheſt degree. About this time a jammadar or black officer of ſeapoys, entered a room joining to my houſe, where my wife and part of my family were ſitting, and with the greateſt aſſurance inſiſted on ſitting cloſe to her. I immediately ſpoke to him in his own language, telling him, that was my wife and family, and deſired him to go out of my houſe; upon which he abuſed me beyond expreſſion.

In this ſituation I wrote to the mayor and aldermen of Calcutta, as alſo to Randolph Marriott and Hugh Watts, Eſquires, his majeſty's juſtices of the peace, acquainting them with my ſituation, and informing them, that not being a military man, neither having committed robbery, treaſon, murder, nor any other crime or miſdemeanor, I applied to them as to the civil power of that city, hoping for their protection.

On the 5th of September I received a letter from Mr. John Holme, regiſter of the mayor's court, acquainting me, that he was ordered by the court

to

to inform me, that my affair did not come within their cognizance or juriſdiction: and the ſame day I received an anſwer from Mr. Watts, that he was ſick; but having received no anſwer from Mr. Marriott, I wrote to him again, informing him, that my condition was then ſuch, that I was ſtarving, and had not even been allowed to go to the neceſſary-houſe, during my confinement. In anſwer, I received a letter from Mr. Marriott the ſame day, acquainting me, he had received my letter, and informing me that if I would now pleaſe to apply to Claud Ruſſel, Eſq; who was the preſent acting juſtice of the peace, he dared to ſay, I ſhould be granted a civil officer to conduct me to him, in order to lay my grievances before him. On this information I wrote twice to Mr. Ruſſell, who at laſt thought proper to anſwer me, that as ſoon as he could have the opinion of the bench of juſtices upon the ſubject of my complaint, he would acquaint me with it. Some time after Mr. Ruſſel informed me by letter, that the members of the board being diſperſed in the country, a full bench could not be aſſembled till that morning the 8th of September, and that Mr. Groſe their clerk, whom they had deputed to wait on me, would acquaint me with the reſult of their meeting. Accordingly Mr. Groſe came to me that evening, and informed me, by word of mouth, through the bars of my windows, that the bench of juſtices had laid my letters before lord Clive, and aſked his reaſons for placing the guards on me in the manner I had related in my letters, and that his lordſhip had anſwered, that he had not ordered the guards to confine me to my room: but on the contrary had given

them

them orders to let me go about where I would; that I was at liberty to go to any part of Calcutta, and that the reaſon of the guard being placed over me, his lordſhip ſaid, was for not obeying the orders of the governor and council in going on board the lord Cambden. Farther, that the bench of juſtices thought the letters I had laid before them was groundleſs, and they ſhould take no farther notice of them; but that if I would, agreeable to the orders of the governor and council, proceed on board the lord Cambden, I might expect all the civility and good treatment I could wiſh for.

Theſe minutes reported by the bench of juſtices, I took down in writing before Mr. Groſe, and the next day I addreſſed them again, expoſtulating on their meſſage, diſapproving certain allegations and acquainting them that as a Britiſh ſubject, much oppreſſed, I applied to them as his majeſty's juſtices, requeſting they would examine enſign Angerſteen, ſerjeant Halſell, and the havaldar of the guard, upon oath, concerning the orders by which they acted; but that as for going on board the lord Cambden, I had already acquainted the governor and council that I could not comply with ſuch orders.

The bench did not ſhew the leaſt inclination to comply with my requeſt, reſpecting the examination; ſo on the 10th of September 1766, I wrote again ſeparately to Wiliam Summer, Harry Verelſt, Randolph Marriott, Claud Ruſſel, Thomas Kelſall, Charles Floyer, and William Alderſey, Eſqrs. his majeſty's juſtices, acquainting them, that I wanted to ſwear the peace againſt enſign Angerſteen; and as I was prevented from waiting upon them,

them, by my being confined, I ſhould be glad to ſee any one of them at my houſe to take my depoſition. None of theſe gentlemen however, thought proper to come to my houſe, or even anſwer my letter, except the cautious Mr. Ruſſel, who wrote to me on the 11th of September, that in caſe my deſire of ſwearing the peace againſt enſign Angerſteen aroſe from any cauſe that had no connection with the ſubject of my former letters, he would be glad to ſee me at his houſe, and if neceſſary for that purpoſe, he would ſend a conſtable for my protection: but in caſe it had to do with my former letters, he had no authority.

The ſame day I received a letter from Mr. Groſe, acquainting me, that he was directed by the bench of Juſtices, who had aſſembled on the ſeveral applications I had made to them, both ſeparately and jointly, to inform me, that on enquiry into the cauſe of my complaints, they did not appear to be cognizable by any civil authority there, being againſt the preſident and council.

The preſident and council act by the authority of the company, or the court of directors, and the magiſtrates by the authority of the laws, and for the ſovereign. Thus the authority of the ſervants of the Eaſt-India company is in Bengal, held to be ſuperior to that of the ſovereign and the laws.

After this final anſwer from the bench of juſtices, it plainly appeared impoſſible to obtain any redreſs in Bengal againſt ſuch illegal and arbitrary proceedings, becauſe thoſe gentlemen as ſworn juſtices of the peace would not condemn one another for what they tranſacted as counſellors.

Having

Having been ten days and nights cloſe confined in my houſe, in want of common neceſſaries, and even daylight, overcome with the heat of the weather and the ſmell of my room, which was now become extremely diſagreeable; in this ſituation I had been attacked with a diſeaſe, which often proves mortal in that country, and I was in fact at the point of death, when I determined to have my doors opened, and to ſurrender myſelf priſoner to lord Clive and the council. But before I executed this reſolution, on the 13th of September I wrote to lord Clive on account of my ſituation, to hear what he would ſay; to which he immediately returned me for anſwer, that I was no ſtranger to the reaſon of the guard of ſeapoys being poſted near my houſe, but that I certainly knew they were not poſted there to confine me to the houſe, but that I might come out when ever I thought proper.

After this I had my doors opened, and with the aſſiſtance of Mr. Gowin, made a ſhift that night to crawl to the houſe of Mr. James, a near neighbour.

I was followed cloſe by ſix ſeapoys, with bayonets fixed on their muſkets, while the remainder of the guard that ſtay'd at my houſe, poſted double centinels at the doors of the room where I had been confined, and would not ſuffer my wife nor any one, to enter therein. I ſtaid and ſupped at Mr. James's, in company with miſs Stanford, Madden, Broadbent and doctor Savage, who were eye witneſſes of the above. After ſupper enſign Angerſteen came to Mr. James, and notwithſtanding I had ſhewed him the letter I had received from lord Clive, conducted me with the guard that was with me, back to my own houſe, where I was ſtill

guarded as a priſoner, but with leſs rigour than before. On the 14th of September in the morning, I was carried out in my palanqueen in company with Mr. Britain, in order to enter a proteſt againſt lord Clive and the bench of juſtices, but was followed through the ſtreets by two of the ſeapoys with drawn bayonets: and notwithſtanding all the pretences and aſſurances of lord Clive, that I was at liberty, I was on a ſudden ſurrounded by a new guard of twelve ſeapoys, who in a moſt contemptuous manner made me their priſoner, and forced me back to my own houſe, in the preſence of Meſſrs. Britain, Holme and Randall, lieutenant Edmonſon, the Rev. Mr. Karnander and Mr. Carewood; where I remained priſoner, with double centinels over me; but with liberty however to go from one room to the other.

On the evening of the 17th of September, the guard made an attempt to ſeize my perſon in the hall, but upon my retiring into my bed-chamber, they did not chuſe to follow me, as I ſuppoſe, for fear of fire arms. This behaviour gave me great ſuſpicion, that lord Clive had given particular orders concerning me, to be executed that night, which was verified by the event; for in the dead of the night, or rather the morning of the 18th, between two and three o'clock, enſign Augerſteen came with ſerjeant Snider and part of the guard, and entered the room where I was with my wife, and immediately ſeizing me by the right arm, tore me in a moſt barbarous manner from her, notwithſtanding in that inſtant ſhe fell to the ground in a fit. I was dragged through the ſtreets of Calcutta to the river ſide, and put into a badgerow, where

I re-

I remained with centinels at the cabbin-door from three in the morning till four that afternoon; when enſign Angerſteen came to ſee me in the cabbin, I aſked him what was to be done with me? he informed me, lord Clive had given orders, that I ſhould be put down the river, and put on board a ſloop, the captain of which had orders to proceed with me to Madraſs.

About this time my wife came to ſee me in her palankeen, though extremely weak after her late miſcarriage. She ſaid ſhe was determined to ſhare my fate in going with me, rather than be thus ſeparated from me by lord Clive after eight years marriage. Accordingly I conſented to take her with me, and leaving attornies to ſettle my affairs: but upon this enſign Angerſteen immediately ordered the boat to be puſhed off, and again in a moſt cruel manner forced us from each other; which ſo affected my wife that I did not expect ſhe would ſurvive it.

The boat immediately put off, under the command of ſerjeant Snider with the guard, enſign Angerſteen remaining behind. There was a gentleman, named Francis Robertſon, late an officer in the army, who had alſo in the ſame manner been confined to his houſe, under charge of a party of Angerſteen's ſeapoys, and who was brought on board with me. In our paſſage down the river he ſhewed me a copy of lord Clive's orders, which he had procured from enſign Angerſteen, exactly taken from the original, on the 18th of September, in preſence of Mr. Patrick Duff and Mr. James Hume, as follows:

To Enſign Angerſteen.

SIR,

"You are to take a guard and ſecure the perſons of captain Vernon, Duffield and enſign Francis Robertſon; when ſecured, you are to embark them in badgerows or boats provided for that purpoſe, and convey them by water on board the lord Camden, delivering them to the charge of captain Smith. In caſe you meet with reſiſtance of fire-arms, ſwords or any other weapons that may endanger the loſs of your own life, or the lives of any of your party, you are to deſiſt from the attempt, contenting yourſelf with placing guards in ſuch a manner, that they cannot poſſibly eſcape; nor are you to ſuffer any perſon or perſons whatſoever to go in or come out, or allow proviſions, or liquors, or any other ſupplies of any kind to be conveyed to them, without my expreſs orders. You are likewiſe to endeavour to prevail upon the ſaid two officers to ſurrender themſelves quietly, and if that has no effect, you may try, by getting in at the window, or by any other fineſſe, to ſecure their perſons; but upon no account by force or violence to break open any lock: if the door be not locked, you may in that caſe open it, and force the ſaid two officers.

Fort William the 4th September 1766. (L. S.)

(Signed) Clive."

On

On the 19th in the afternoon, we arrived along ſide the ſloop, near Ingellee, and upon refuſing to go voluntarily on board, were forced up the ſide by ſerjeant Snider and his guard, in preſence of Mr. Briggs and Mr. Ingles. I told Briggs who commanded the ſloop, that ſince he had ſuffered me to be put forcibly on board, I ſhould look upon myſelf as his priſoner, and upon him as anſwerable for the conſequences hereafter. He anſwered he could not help it, that he had received orders from the governor and council, for that purpoſe.

Mr. Briggs ſet ſail for Madraſs; and after we had been a few days at ſea, he ſhewed me the order he had received from the governor and council of Calcutta which was as follows.

To captain William Briggs of the Ann ſloop.

SIR,

"You are hereby ordered to receive on board your ſloop, captain lieutenant Vernon Duffield and enſign Francis Robertſon, whom you are to carry to Madraſs, and deliver them to the orders of the preſident and council there.

Dated Fort William the 15th of Sept. 1766.

By order of the right honourable the preſident and council.

William Alderſey, Secretary."

After a very diſagreeable paſſage on the 17th of October at night, we arrived at Madraſs; and on the 13th were taken aſhore by captain Briggs, in order to be delivered over to the governor and coun-

council to whom we were conſigned, for further impriſonment and tranſportation ; on notice of our arrival, a ſerjeant came, and informed us, that captain Foſter deſired we would come to the fort immediately ; and on refuſal, he had orders from governor Palk to ſend a guard and bring us by force. We deſired the ſerjeant to acquaint captain Fraſier, that as we were priſoners of Mr. Briggs, we could not think by any means of ſetting ourſelves at liberty, and ſhould therefore wait his return. The ſerjeant finding captain Fraſier aſleep, went to colonel Tod who ordered the ſerjeant to take a guard and bring us priſoners into the fort, and in leſs than an hour he returned with a guard of ſeapoys and carried us into the fort to captain Fraſier's houſe, who by this time was getting up. He informed us that the governor had given orders for us to be immediately ſent on board the Speaker, captain Dewar, which was to ſail that evening for Bombay, and in caſe of our refuſal, he had orders to force us on board with a proper guard. Thus theſe injured officers, who had been guilty of no other fault, than that of reſigning their commiſſion, were ſent forcibly from Bengal to Madraſs, then to Bombay, and from thence down the Malabar coaſt on their way to England. We requeſted we might have the permiſſion of ſeeing colonel Tod, which captain Fraſier granted, and ſent lieutenant Spratt to guard us. We acquainted colonel Tod with our ſituation, and begged he would inform the governor of our diſtreſs, for want of a few hours time on ſhore to prepare for the voyage : but he refuſed ſaying, the affair did not concern him.

Lieute-

Lieutenant Spratt therefore conducted us to the ſea ſide with a guard, forced us into a boat, and from thence into the ſhip Speaker. When we were embarked, and ſaw captain Dewar, we aſked him if he had received any order from the governor and council of Madraſs to receive us on board his ſhip? he replied, he had received orders from them to receive us on board as charter-party paſſengers, which he would do. After we had been ſome days at ſea he ſhewed us the orders he had received, from the ſaid governor and council, which were as follow:

To captain James Dewar of the ſhip Speaker.

SIR,

"You are hereby ordered to receive on board your ſhip, as charter-party paſſengers for England, captain lieutenant Vernon Duffield, and enſign Francis Robertſon.

H. M. Goodlad, Secretary."

Fort St. George the 13th of October, 1766.

SIR,

"I am further ordered to acquaint you, that the ſaid captain lieutenant Vernon Duffield and enſign Francis Robertſon are not to be permitted to go on ſhore at Bombay, without the particular orders of the governor and council there.

H. M. Goodlad, Secretary."

Fort St. George the 13th of October, 1766.

After

After our arrival at Bombay, we wrote to captain Dewar for leave to go on ſhore, who ſent his purſer Mr. John Davis, to inform us, that he could not give us leave, but adviſed us to apply to the governor and council there. Whereupon we wrote to them, requeſting permiſſion to come on ſhore for our healths, on our paroles to return on board the Speaker when ſhe was ready to ſail.

In anſwer to our letter we received one from Mr. Ramſey, ſecretary to the governor and council, informing us that he was directed by their order to acquaint us, that they had no objections to our reſiding upon Butcher's iſland during the Speaker's continuance at Bombay, provided we would enter into a bond of 500l. each, to repair voluntarily on board again, when required, giving proper ſecurity for the ſame. We could not help thinking theſe conditions impoſed on us very harſh and inhuman, for Butcher's iſland, in the harbour of Bombay, is a place commanded by a non commiſſioned officer's guard, which we were informed was only uſed for the confinement of felons, and other priſoners, and for the keeping of the governor's live ſtock; and with reſpect to the ſecurity bond, it was out of our power to give it, being entire ſtrangers to every body in Bombay.

We therefore expoſtulated with the governor and council upon the unreaſonableneſs of theſe propoſals; and after further deliberation, they ordered Mr. ſecretary Ramſey to acquaint us, that in conſideration of our circumſtances, they would conſent to our coming on ſhore at Bombay, provided we would execute the parole which was incloſed to us. But they acquainted us, that the board could

not

not but remark injuſtice to themſelves, that their propoſal for our reſiding on Butcher's Iſland was no way unreaſonable, as it was allowed to be a very healthy and pleaſant place, where people had frequently gone for the benefit of their healths. We each of us executed and returned the paroles which were ſent us as follows,

I, the underwritten Vernon Duffield, now charter-party paſſenger on board the honourable Eaſt India company's ſhip Speaker, ordered to England by the preſident and council of Madraſs, do hereby give my parole of honour to the preſident and council of Bombay, that if they will admit of my going on ſhore there for refreſhment, I will during my reſidence on the ſame iſland, conduct myſelf in every reſpect in a becoming manner as a gentleman, and voluntarily return on board the ſaid ſhip without heſitation, whenever I may be required, for proceeding on her voyage to Great-Britain.

Dated on board the ſhip Speaker the 10th of December 1766.

After this captain Dewar ſent an order to the commanding-officer on board to permit us to go on ſhore, which we accordingly did, and on the 23d of January 1767, we received the following order.

To Meſſieurs Vernon, Duffield and Francis Robertſon.

Gentlemen,

I am directed by the honourable the preſident and council to acquaint you, that their diſpatches for the Speaker will be ſigned on Monday morning, the 26th inſtant, and to acquaint you to repair

pair on board her accordingly, agreeable to the parole you executed upon coming on ſhore.

I am, Gentlemen,

Your moſt obedient ſervant.

(Signed) Andrew Ramſey, Secretary.

Bombay Caſtle, 23d January, 1767.

We accordingly repaired on board the Speaker, where having only the accommodation of charter-party paſſengers, with ſcarce room to hang our hammocks; I was obliged to purchaſe the uſe of the boatſwain's cabin, for eight pounds; and having been informed at Bombay, that governor Crommelin, who was paſſenger from Bombay alſo in this ſhip, would not allow of our eating at table with him, we were under the neceſſity of agreeing with the under mates to meſs with them.

We left Bombay and proceeded down the Malabar coaſt to Tillicherry, where Mr. Robertſon, diſſatisfied with his ſituation in the Speaker, left us, upon giving captain Dewar his parole of honour to proceed to Europe in a French ſhip. From Tillicherry we proceeded to Anjingo which was the laſt port in India that we were to touch at. Juſt before we ſailed from the Malabar coaſt, captain Dewar informed me that governor Crommelin had deſired him to acquaint me, that he had now no objections to my eating at his table; by which I underſtood the reaſon of his objecting before to have been for fear of diſobliging lord Clive. As therefore I was not at all pleaſed with my ſituation, I purchaſed the privilege of the captain's table for one hundred pounds ſterling; we proceeded to St. Helena,

Helena, which we again left in May 1767, and set sail for England.

(Signed) Vernon Duffield.

Mr. Duffield after his arrival in England, precluded from the resources of the moderate fortune he had acquired in Indostan, ruined and unconnected, found himself unable to seek for a lawful revenge of his wrongs against his oppressors. As he had no prospect of satisfaction adequate to his injuries, he went back to Bengal, to gather the scanty remains of his scattered fortune. Thus a British subject driven by violence and a mercileſs perſecution from the Engliſh ſettlements, was forced for want of money and intereſt, to leave lord Clive to enjoy his unmanly triumph with impunity. When lord Clive acquainted Mr. Duffield that he would give him all the law on his ſide, as he was fully determined to break into his houſe. Did not ſuch an avowed deſign to violate the ſacred aſſylum of his fellow-ſubject, ſhews that he thought his wealth and power ſhould baffle all means of redreſs, ſuggeſted by juſtice and equity?

The following caſe of John Nevill Parker, Eſq; of Bengal; with Sir Fletcher Norton's opinion, reflects no leſs diſgrace upon the memory of our hero.

John Nevill Parker, Eſq; a lieutenant in the king's ſervice, on the 5th of March 1764, obtained with his majeſty's permiſſion, a commiſſion from the company, as captain of foot, having inliſted

and carried over with him to India a company of an hundred and ten men.

He reſigned his commiſſion on account of the reduction of camp allowance, called Batta, and on the 18th of May 1766, he was permitted by major Smith to quit the army; notwithſtanding which it was afterwards pretended that he was ſtill a military man, and on the fifth of June 1766, when engaged in his own private buſineſs, he was ſuddenly ſeized at Banares, in the juriſdiction of the Nabob Sujah Alli Dowlah, by an order from colonel Richard Smith, where he was ignominiouſly dragged through the ſtreets, and then cloſe confined. He was conducted thence to Chuprah, where he arrived on the 14th of June, and on the 16th of the ſame month he arrived at Patna. He was then carried and confined in a diſmal hole; and on the 16th of September he was ſummoned to attend a court-martial where he was informed his former reſignation was now deemed mutiny, for which he was to be tried.

Mr. Parker objected to the authority of the court, inſiſting that he had never entered into any contract or agreement with the Eaſt-India company, to ſerve them for any fixed time; that he had reſigned their employ in the beginning of May laſt, had not been muſtered for ſome months before, nor had he received any pay from the preceding month of April.

The following is a copy of Mr. Parker's proteſt, delivered to the court on the 17th of September, 1766.

Gentlemen, preſident, and members.

I am aſtoniſhed when I reflect on the ignominious treat-

treatment I have endured; and am more particularly ſurprized at being oppreſſed by thoſe whoſe ſphere it is to protect the ſubject, ſupport the glorious conſtitution of England, and enact as well as cheriſh its laws: but when theſe juſt and laudable motives are no longer thought worthy of attention, individuals far diſtant from the ſeat of liberty, deſtitute of friends, intereſt, and every other ſupport, are born down by a torrent of perſecution, and dragged in defiance of all laws, from place to place, as I have moſt injuriouſly experienced.

I preſume, gentlemen, it is neceſſary to acquaint you, that I never entered into any contract or agreement to ſerve the honourable company; and I did for many obvious reaſons reſign their employ in the beginning of May laſt; neither was I muſtered for months before that time; nor have I received pay, or any other allowance, ſince the preceding month of April; and in confirmation thereof, when I was with the reſt of the late officers, doing duty in the garriſon of Illahabad, major Smith the commanding officer, on the 15th of May laſt, ſummoned us, and publiſhed a letter ſent him by col. Smith, from the right honourable the commander in chief, wherein he declared he would accept of the reſignation of all thoſe officers, who ſignified their intention of quitting the ſervice. In anſwer to which we informed major Smith, we ſhould leave the garriſon on the 20th of that month, or ſooner, if we could provide ourſelves with boats to proceed to Calcutta. On the 17th of that month, I left Illahabad with the major's approbation, and in a few days after I arrived at Banaras, where I was ſeized the 5th of June following, by an order of

colonel

colonel Smith, bearing date the firſt of the ſame month. I cannot ſuppoſe, gentlemen, knowing theſe facts, which I can now prove, and which are by the laws of Great Britain inſeparable obſtacles to my being tried by a military court, that you will proceed no farther againſt me.

The ſhocking and degrading manner of apprehending me, and the many inſults I have publicly ſuffered, ſo reflected on my character as an officer, in which ſtation I have had the honour to ſerve my king and country for many years, with the approbation and applauſe of my ſuperiors, that I determined to ſolicit a trial; and it was firmly my intention to have ſtood one, had I been releaſed, in allowing it to have been a voluntary act of mine: but ſo far was I from being ever countenanced by his lordſhip, or obtaining the leaſt mitigation of the ſeverity of my treatment, that inſults were repeated, and I had been a priſoner forty days previous to my being ordered before the laſt court martial; and as a farther aggravation, I was ſtill continued under the ſame diſagreeable circumſtances; and I have altogether ſuffered this cruel and vexatious impriſonment, three months and ten days: which are the motives that induced me to object to my being tried, and from which I am reſolved never to ſwerve as long as I am thus mal-treated. Think not, gentlemen, that theſe ſentiments proceed from any apprehenſion of the conſequences of a trial: far from it; conſcious of my own innocence, and having the higheſt opinion of the abilities, experience and impartiality of every one of you, I doubt not, could you with propriety try

me,

me, but that I ſhould be honourably acquitted of the crime maliciouſly preferred againſt me.

You have now, gentlemen, a matter of importance to determine, however trivial it may appear regarding me; yet in my caſe muſt be decided, that of every Britiſh ſubject, who is, or may hereafter enter into the honourable company's military ſervice, and whether liberty in this part of the world is a ſhadow or not.

Leſt it ſhould be imagined by any perſon, that my conſent is not requiſite to try me legally, I beg leave to refer them to the recent and ſimilar inſtance of lord George Sackville, who having reſigned his military employment, by order of his Majeſty, afterwards ſolicited a court-martial to clear his character of many imputations laid to his charge; which was refuſed him, on account of his having no connection with the army, and of courſe not being ſubject to military law. Notwithſtanding, upon his repeated application, and after the opinion of the judges of England had been taken, who declared he could not be tried by a military court, except by his own deſire and approbation, his Majeſty was graciouſly pleaſed to grant his requeſt.

As I have uſed my endeavours in every part hereof, to pay a proper deference to the court, I hope therefore I have not tranſgreſſed, or deviated from the reſpect ſo juſtly due on all occaſions.

(Signed) John Nevill Parker.

The court over-ruled Mr. Parker's objections to their juriſdiction, and inſiſted he ſhould anſwer the charge, and only have two hours time to conſider whether he would make his defence or not.

Having

Having been long confined, his life and character being at ſtake, and he ſtill holding a commiſſion in his majeſty's ſervice, he undertook under all diſadvantages, to make his defence as well as he could, and ſeveral witneſſes were examined; but the court in a very extraordinary manner refuſed to let him examine his witneſſes to ſeveral points in his juſtification, particularly, not admitting him to prove his reſignation of the company's ſervice. He was alſo refuſed a copy, which he demanded, of the warrant, by which the court martial was authorized to try him.

Notwithſtanding all theſe diſadvantages under which captain Parker laboured, the court-martial was neceſſitated honourably to acquit him of the crime of mutiny laid to his charge, Nevertheleſs, he was ordered down to Calcutta, being near four hundred miles from Patna, after having been kept cloſe confined, in a manner the moſt ignominious and dangerous to his health; from the 5th of June to the 17th of October 1766, and was in other various reſpects very illegally treated.

Sir Fletcher Norton's opinion of this caſe.

This is a caſe under very extraordinary circumſtances; and upon this ſtate of facts it appears, that Mr. Parker has been very ill uſed, and the proceedings againſt him arbitrary and oppreſſive. But I am not able to point out a remedy which will not be attended with many difficulties, and the ſucceſs doubtful. However, if captain Parker will run the hazard of the coſts of an action at law, which are not very great, I think it will be adviſeable for him to bring an action againſt lord Clive, the preſident, and one or two more members

bers of the court martial, and the perſons who actually apprehended and confined him; but great care muſt be taken in ſettling the pleadings, if any of them ſhould plead ſpecially, to get proper iſſues put upon the record.

Lincoln's Inn, March 17, 1768.

(Signed) Fletcher Norton.

Mr. Parker thus buoyed up with an opinion that he might obtain redreſs for the long impriſonment he had ſuſtained and this in conſequence of his voluntary and accepted reſignation of the company's ſervice, though acquitted by a court martial under all the influence which power and management might be ſuppoſed to effect, brought his action and damages againſt lord Clive. After combating for two years all the evaſions which the ſhameful privileges of parliament then permitted lord Clive to uſe; they were at laſt brought to a period, when he was obliged either to enter his plea of juſtification, or ſuffer judgment to be entered up againſt him. Being unable with the aſſiſtance of half the council of England, to aſſign any juſtification that would bear a judicious examination on paper, the plaintiff was at liberty to enter up his judgment. Here again the attorney was intimidated by the privilege of parliament, and was told beſides, that unleſs his client ſhould come into an agreement of permitting certain papers in the India houſe, which were no legal evidence, to be read at the trial on the behalf of the defendant, and likewiſe permit the defendant to place the general iſſue, and give the whole ſpecial matter in evidence; the court would be moved for a commiſ-

ſion to examine witneſſes in India, which would at leaſt laſt them ſix or ſeven years. The poor oppreſſed gentleman, who had already expended all the money he had acquired; and ſeeing no end to the labours he was to undergo, in obtaining a precarious redreſs in the end, under all the influence of the Eaſt-India company, which was now exerted againſt him, accordingly ſubmitted to an unſatisfactory compromiſe, without the advice of his worthy and honourable council, Mr. Dunning, who immediately foreſaw the pernicious conſequences, but notwithſtanding exerted himſelf to the laſt in reſiſting every act of power, party, corruption and artifice, which was diſplayed to the concluſion of this proceſs. Mr. Parker was firſt nonſuited upon a point of law taken up by lord Mansfield, upon which, however, his lordſhip had not the good fortune to carry the opinion of the other judges of the court. The matter was finiſhed by a kind of compromiſe, ending in a reſolution which no body had ever controverted; "that an officer in the ſervice of the Eaſt-India company has not a right to reſign his commiſſion at all times, under all circumſtances whatſoever, whenever he pleaſed." Upon the trial Mr. Parker's chief difficulty was, to prove that lord Clive had ever known of his being under arreſt, during the five months he had been dragged about, although when in his ſickly ſituation, by his long confinement, he had been viſited by Mr. Ingham, lord Clive's body phyſician, living in his family on the ſpot, who had the honeſty to declare upon the trial, that he did not believe he had ever made any report to lord Clive; and although the conſtant practice of the army is, to

make

make a daily report in writing by the officer who leaves the guard, of the number of priſoners, how long confined, and for what crimes, and that it was proved lord Clive, the commander in chief, had reſided ſeven weeks in the place where Mr. Parker was a priſoner; yet the jury was told, and it may be preſumed rightly, according to the maxims of the common law, that there was no proof to ſhew lord Clive knew of the plaintiff's confinement: upon which ground chiefly a verdict was found for the defendant. Thus the fortune of the conqueror of Plaſſey accompanied him in Weſtminſter-Hall, againſt the man he had ſo notoriouſly injured and oppreſſed.

We muſt not omit doing juſtice to the gallant behaviour of Sir Robert Fletcher, whilſt he commanded the company's troops in the abſence of major Munro and major Carnac in Bengal. He attacked and defeated Suja Dowla's army, and made himſelf maſter of an advantageous fort on the top of a hill, that had baffled the repeated efforts of his predeceſſors in command; the governor of which, after three practicable breaches had been made in the walls, delivered up the keys with tears in his eyes, and with theſe affecting words:

"I have endeavoured to act like a ſoldier, but deſerted by my prince, and left with a mutinous garriſon, what could I do? God and you (laying his hand on the Koran, and pointing to his ſoldiers) are witneſſes, that to the faith of the Engliſh I now truſt my life and fortune." What a noble behaviour; becoming the braveſt and moſt poliſhed European. His troops had been without pay for above ſix months.

As early as this period, the plan of adminiſtration was, to make the Britiſh power in the Eaſt Indies reſpected, by an eſtabliſhed military government: "The natives would pay no regard to the company, if the governors were not looked on as appointed by the king. Our company always makes uſe of his majeſty's name, which is attended with good effects; but if the governor was called his excellency, it would ſtrike a terror into the natives, among whom every thing goes by external figure. Our company are at a great expence in ſupporting the dignity of their governors; but, though the French company nominate their governors, they muſt be approved by the king. The people of India deſpiſe merchants, and honour ſoldiers; if a ſoldier bows to the ſoubah, he returns it, but never to a merchant. Even a naked ſoldier is looked on as a gentleman in India; therefore our king's ſoldiers appear great among them. It has been thought that if Calcutta, Madraſs, Bombay, and St. Helena, were each of them, with their dependencies, created into a ſeperate colony, with a governor appointed by the king, to be aſſiſted by a council and aſſembly choſen by the people, as in America, they would make as rich and flouriſhing colonies as Virginia or Jamaica, ſince their trade and commodities are of more value; and if the free merchants there, were incorporated with the black merchants, who are extremely rich, and with the Indian artizans, who are ſober and induſtrious, theſe colonies would ſoon grow up to ſuch a height as can ſcarce be conceived. They would be ſo far from a monopolizing company that they would not only be able to defray their own charges,

but

but might give aſſiſtance towards paying off the national debt."

In conſequence of the late territorial acquiſitions of the Eaſt India company, and divers new arrangements propoſed, the ſituation of the company's affairs at home and abroad, was thus ſtated.

The commerce of Great Britain with China and the Indies, as carried on by the Eaſt India company, is now become an intereſting object of public concern. In former times, when their ſtock was ſmall and of little value, their trade confined, and their poſſeſſions nothing, it was viewed altogether in the light of a private adventure. But at preſent that there are near ſeven millions of property inveſted in that trade, an immenſe quantity of ſhipping employed, fleets and armies maintained, and great poſſeſſions acquired, every man almoſt in theſe kingdoms finds himſelf affected by its proſperity: We ſhall therefore, from the papers formerly publiſhed, endeavour to give our readers a true ſtate of the company's affairs both at abroad and at home; and ſhall begin with the revenues of Bengal for this year, taken from a ſtate made out by lord Clive in India, before the late ſhips that arrived ſailed.

Bahar - - - - -	£. 700,000
Bengal - - - -	1,875,000
Company's lands of Burdwan, &c. —	625,009
Cuſtoms of Calcutta - -	18,750
Duties on ſalt, beetlenut, and tobacco,	112,500
Debt due from Souja Dowla - -	562,500
	£. 3,893,750

The

The revenues of Bengal and Bahar, here ſet down at 206 lacks, or 2,575,000l. were rated, in 1762, in the books of Coſſim Ali Khan's exchequer, at 2 crors 86 lacks, 76,813 rupees, or 3,584,601 l. ſterling. So that they exceed the above ſtate by more than a million ſterling.

The true ſtate of the revenue of the ſeveral provinces ceded to the company, have likewiſe been found under-rated. The diſtricts of Burdwan, Midnapoor, Chittagong and Calcutta, never yielded more than 40 lacks, or 500,000l. ſterling; but ſince they have been in our poſſeſſion, they have produced yearly about 50 lacks, or 625,000 l. From all which, the beſt judges of theſe affairs are perſuaded, that Bahar and Bengal will ſoon produce, with proper management, five hundred thouſand pounds ſterling annually more than they are ſtated at in the account which we have here followed.

Money to be paid yearly out of the revenue of Bengal, viz.

For the army - -	£	585,000
Military ſtores - -		40,000
Marine expences - -		45,000
Civil liſt - -		200,000
Fortifications and buildings at Calcutta		100,000
Barracks, &c. at different places		75,000
Yearly revenue to the king -		325,000
Ditto to the Nabob -		667,500
Bonds due - -		900,000
Reſtitution money to the ſufferers at Bengal, donation to the army, &c.		262,500
Total of this year's expences at Bengal		3,200,000

So

So that, from the amount of the yearly revenues of Bengal, deducting the above ſums, there will remain to the company a clear balance of 693,500l. And this is the real ſituation of their affairs.

Beſides the above accounts, notice ſhould be taken of the revenues of other provinces granted at the ſame time; which, although they will not probably be received, yet will ſtill increaſe the revenue in time to come, at leaſt 437,500 l.

Having thus ſtated the general account of the company's revenues, let us next ſhew the general ſtate of their effects and debts due to them in the Eaſt Indies.

	l.
Balance in Bengal this year, as before ſtated - - -	693,500
Balance due by the Nabob of Arcott for which his country is ſecurity	450,000
Debts due by the French for maintenance of priſoners -	250,000
Remaining in China, after loading 15 ſhips already arrived in England	200,000
Amount of the effects ſhipped off from London laſt year -	650,000
Coſt of fortifications, &c. -	300,000
Total of the Company's effects in India	5,243,500

From the above calculation, it is manifeſt, that Bengal yielding a revenue of 1,293,000 l. and the four northern provinces 437,000 l. with half a million more, which, by a moderate computation, we may ſuppoſe they will amount to in a few years the company will ſoon enjoy a clear territorial revenue of two millions, after defraying all expences

ces of the civil eſtabliſhment in the Eaſt Indies, charges of buildings, fortifications, barracks, &c. and when theſe laſt articles of expences ceaſe, their amount will be ſo much addition to their clear balance.

The ſtate of their affairs at home cannot be ſo accurately known, acceſs to the proper papers being denied; the following calculations, therefore, are founded only on general ideas, and the lights received from men much converſant in the india trade.

Debts due to the company	£
Loan to the government, 1698	2,000 000
Ditto to ditto, 6 Q. Anne	1,200,000

Theſe two ſums form the preſent capital ſtock, which gives the right of voting and upon which the dividends are made.

The government owes beſides, a loan 17 Geo. II. made without any call on the proprietors	1,000,000
Total of the debt, for which the nation pays the company 3 per cent	4,200,000
Effects in England, viz.	
Houſes, warehouſes, and all other immoveable ſtock, valued at	200,000
Goods in hand, money due to the company and prompt payment lately made	1,200,000
Produce of the cargoes arrived and to arrive this year	2,750,000
Total of effects, debts, &c. belonging to the company in England	8,350,000

Nothing is here ſtated on account of the expence of the civil eſtabliſhment in England, or for the

the rents of houſes and warehouſes there, becauſe the duties on private trade, inwards and outwards, &c. fully compenſate them.

Debts due from the company.

Money borrowed by act of parliament.

	£.
Bonds, afterwards converted into annuities, bearing 3 per cent. intereſt by 23 George II.	3,000,000
Bonds ſtill remaining, ſuppoſed neither to exceed nor fall ſhort of the ſum allowed by parliament to be borrowed	3,000,000
Total of borrowed money	6,000,000

Occaſional debts

Owing on account of freight	750,000
Reſtitution money paid to the company by Jaffier Alli Cawn, 1757, for the private ſufferers, illegally detained, and now awarded to be paid by a decree in chancery	62,500
The company's acceptances for draughts from India	200,000
Expences of 1000 ſoldiers, to be ſent out this ſeaſon, at 20l. each	20,000

Due to the bank, and to other creditors, about	1,200,000
Total debts due by comp.	8,232,500
Clear balance in favour of the company, or exceedings of their effects over their debts in England alone	117,500
Balance of effects in India, as ſtated before	5,243,750
Total	5,361,250

Thus having laid before the public a view of the company's affairs at home, their happy ſituation abroad, and the great territorial increaſing revenues they have acquired in the eaſt, it only remains to give a general view of their commerce, by which they may be enabled to ſupport their credit and proſperity, in caſe government ſhould interfere, and aſſume the territorial revenues to themſelves.

After demonſtrating the the ſolidity of their bottom at home, their happy ſituation abroad, and the great territorial increaſing revenues they have acquired in the Eaſt, it only remains to give a general view of their commerce, in order to enable the reader to judge how far that alone would be able to ſupport them in credit and proſperity, in caſe government ſhould interfere, and aſſume the territorial revenues to themſelves.

Let us reckon that one year with another, 27 ſhips will be ſent from England to India, their

their cargoes outwards, and the produce of their ſales there, I eſtimate as follows, *viz.*

	Prime coſt in England.	Produce in ſterling.
5 ſhips for Bengal	£. 95,000	125,000
2 ditto for Madraſs	21,000	28,000
5 ditto for Bombay	150,000	200,000
15 ditto for China	210,000	280,000
Sent to China from Bencoolen, about 800 tons of pepper, by ſhips which call there	50,000	100,000
	526,000	£. 733,000

Then from the produce deducting the prime coſt - - - 526,000

The difference will be a clear profit on our outward trade, of - £. 207,000

We have next to value the profits on our homeward trade, upon which our chief commercial advantages depend.

	Prime coſt in India.
The charges of five ſhips from Bengal	£. 440,000
Ditto of 2 ſhips from Madraſs	136,000

Ditto

Ditto of 5 ſhips from Bombay	175,000
Ditto of 15 from China -	450,000
£.	1,301,000
Deduct Exciſe paid by the Purchaſer	600,000
And for freight - -	432,000
	1,032,000

	Produce in England.
	1,173,000
	200,000
	250,000
	1,800,000
	3,425,000
From produce deducting prime coſt	1,301,000
Remains	2,124,000
There will remain then a balance of clear profit on our homeward trade, of	1,092,00
Which, with the profits of our outward trade, amounts in all to £.	1,299,000

And let no man be ſurprized at theſe profits; for, without theſe, or much higher, how could the company have maintained wars for fifteen years in the different parts of India, before they acquired almoſt any territorial revenues.

Thus, upon our ſuppoſition, the profits of trade will amount to one million two hundred and ninety-nine thouſand pounds: but this makes no allowance for loſſes at ſea, from weather, or the enemy, average upon damaged goods, miſmanagement

ment, &c. Make then what allowance for theſe accidents you pleaſe, even to almoſt one half of the above profit; we ſtill have demonſtrated what we ventured to aſſert. That our trade alone, even upon the footing that it is at preſent, does actually afford, and ought always to afford in time to come, 640,000 l. a ſum ſufficient to pay an annual dividend of 20 per cent.

The author, after having laid before the public the above ſtate of the company's gains by their trade, which he thinks very moderate, proceeds, in a ſubſequent paper, to conſider the ſubject in another light, and for another purpoſe; by which he ſeems, in one article only, to make a deduction of 600,000 l. a year from their profits; and if in other articles they are equally unſucceſsful, his boaſted calculations, on which his large dividends depend, will appear to be very ill grounded. What the author conſiders, is the diſtreſsful ſituation of the tea-trade, which he repreſents in the following manner:

An account of teas remaining in hand unſold, before the arrival of this year's ſhips from China.

	lb.	s.	d.	£.
Bohea	5,575,760	at 2	11	813,131
Congou	433,300	4	6	97,492
Hyſon	164,570	11		90,513
Pekoe	4,800	6	8	1,600
Singlo	2,018,800	6	4	632,286
Souchong	94,080	6	6	30,576
				1,672,600

Ac-

Account of teas received this year in 15 ſhips from China.

Bohea	6,698,100 at	2	11	976,806
Congou	946,500	4	6	212,962
Hyſon	97,500	11		53,625
Pekoe	9,500	6	8	3,166
Singlo	1,699,500	6	4	538,175
Souchong	120,200	6	6	39,065
Add the value of teas in hand, as above				1,672.600
				3,496,400
Diſcount 6 1 half per cent.				227,266

Total value of teas now remaining in the company's warehouſe £. 3,296,134

By theſe accounts, it appears that there is more than the whole amount of the company's capital bound up in the article of tea alone, and now lying periſhing in their warehouſes; for as this article is managed at preſent, the annual conſumption does not much exceed one million one hundred thouſand pounds, as the ſtate of the laſt year's ſales will ſhow.

So that, by this ſtate, our annual conſumption does not take off above a third part of our ſtock in hand, while our wiſe directors, continuing to import annually to the value of 600,000 l. more than the demand, do, in fact, form an aggregate fund, that muſt in time, at their rate of management, not only ſink the capital in that commodity, but alſo every ſhilling of credit we can obtain. Leſt any man doubt that the Directors can be ſo ignorant, or ſo obſtinate, as to perſiſt in this obvious miſmanagement, I refer him to the number of ſhips taken up for China, both laſt year and the

the preſent; and do further acquaint him, that beſide the 200,000 l. remaining in China, after loading the laſt 15 ſhips, and the large amount of goods ſending or already ſent from hence, there is actually ſtated in the accounts from Bengal 24 lacks, or 300,000l. to be remitted in caſh to that country.

This is the real ſtate of our China trade, which the deputy chairman declared to be diſtreſſing beyond meaſure, and which he ſaid obliged the Directors to borrow conſiderable ſums to carry on. Diſtreſſing indeed to the proprietors, if by the blundering conduct and narrow views of their managers, they are neceſſiated to raiſe ſums of money to pay for goods which are thus allowed to rot in their warehouſes.

But there are remedies for theſe evils ſo ſimple, that one ſhould think they muſt have occurred to the directors, if ever they had turned their thoughts that way; For example, it would be a wiſe policy to put up to ſale a larger quantity of teas than we are at preſent accuſtomed to do, even though they ſhould go at a lower rate, as this would encourage a more general conſumption by the cheapneſs of the commodity, and we ſhould ſtill ſecure to ourſelves a moderate profit on a more conſiderable quantity, which would be better than extorting an unreaſonable gain on a narrow ſale, dictated by the paltry ſpirit of monopoly.

The next expedient is a natural one, and could not have been overlooked by the preſent directors, had they ever thought of the intereſts of their conſtituents in their applications to parliament. There is a cuſtom paid on teas at importation, of

23l.

23l. 18s. 7d. halfpenny per cent. value, and this duty is never drawn back upon re-exportation; now, this evidently prevents us from coming in competition with the Dutch, &c. in foreign markets, where their commodity is brought to fal- unincumbered with ſuch a charge; it would have been an eaſy matter for our Directors to have obtained a drawback of this cuſtom, as it yields at preſent a trifling revenue to the ſtate; and the Parliament has never been known to refuſe ſuch drawbacks, when applied for; and often, in the true ſpirit of commerce, have ganted bounties to encourage exportation. I hope the Directors will now take the hint, and apply themſelves ſeriouſly to have this clog taken off our tea trade.

The following extraordinary letter has been preſented to the Court of Directors of the United Eaſt India Company.

Honourable Sirs,

WE, the under-mentioned Proprietors of Eaſt India ſtock, being duly qualified, agreeable to the campany's Charter, do deſire that a General Court of the ſaid Company may be called to meet on Friday, the 14th of November next, to conſider on impowering you to treat wih this Majeſty's Miniſters, about an application to be made to Parliament, for extending the time limitted for the expiration of the company's charter, by a further grant of 37 years, and for tendering for the uſe of the public the territorial revenues acquired by the company in the Eaſt Indies, after deducting all the expences both civil and

military of the company's ſettlements, upon the company being allowed the ſum of 480,000l. per ann. for ten years certain, as an yearly dividend of 15 per cent. to the proprietors on their ſtock, to be paid out of the firſt of the revenues, after deducting the expences aforeſaid; and for inviolably applying for the ſaid term of ten years, the profits of the company's trade (which muſt be ſuppoſed to exceed 600,000l. per annum) to accumulate to their preſent capital; and for applying the nett profits of the company's trade, after the ſaid ten years, to be divided amongſt the proprietors, with the proviſo, that if the nett profits of the company's trade, after the ſaid ten years, ſhould not be ſufficient to make a dividend of 15 per cent. to the proprietors, the deficiency to be made up out of the revenues. That, by obtaining theſe points, both the public and the company may enjoy great, ſolid, and laſting advantages from their acquiſitions, which muſt otherwiſe infallibly be a continued ſcene of rapine, plunder, and ſtock-jobbing, ſerving only to enrich individuals, and bring diſorder into the company's affairs.

We are, hon. ſirs, your moſt
obedient humble ſervants.

Signed by nine proprietors, as the charter directs.

London, October 29.

Their requeſt was granted, and a general court, in conſequence thereof, advertiſed in the public papers to be held.

The following is a copy of the charter granted by his late majeſty to the Eaſt-India company.

George the ſecond, by the grace of God, king of Great-Britain, France and Ireland, king, defen-

der of the faith, and ſo forth, to all to whom theſe preſents ſhall come greeting; whereas by virtue of ſeveral charters or letters patent heretofore granted by divers of our royal predeceſſors, to different companies of merchants of London, and of England, trading to the Eaſt-Indies, which have formerly been incorporated; ſuch former companies have had power to ſend ſhips of war to their ſettlements in the Eaſt-Indies, to raiſe and keep a military force, and to make peace and war with any princes or people, not chriſtians, in any places of their trade; and alſo to right and recompence themſelves upon the goods, eſtate, or people of thoſe parts by whom they ſhould ſuſtain any injury, loſs, or damage, or upon any other people that ſhould any way interrupt, wrong, or injure them in their trade, within the limits of their charters: and whereas, by virtue of a charter, or letters patent, granted by our royal predeceſſor, king William the third, of glorious memory, bearing date at Weſtminſter the fifth day of September, in the tenth year of his reign, and by virtue of our royal charter, or letters patent, under the great ſeal of Great Britain, bearing date at Weſtminſter the eighth day of January, in the 26th year of our reign, the United Company of Merchants of England, trading to the Eaſt-Indies, have power to raiſe and maintain ſuch a body of ſtanding forces at their ſeveral ſettlements in the Eaſt-Indies, and ſuch a number of ſeamen and ſhips of defence as ſhall be neceſſary for the ſafeguard and defence of the ſame, and to take and ſurprize, all and every perſon and perſons, with their ſhips, armour and ammunition, and other goods,

goods, as ſhall in an hoſtile manner, invade, or attempt the defeating or deſtruction of the ſaid company's ſettlements, or our ſubjects inhabiting therein, and upon juſt cauſe, to invade and deſtroy the enemies of the ſame: And whereas many troubles have of late years ariſen in the Eaſt-Indies, and the ſaid united company have been obliged, at a very great expence, to carry on war in thoſe parts againſt the French, and likewiſe againſt the Nabob of Bengal, and other princes, or governments, in India, and ſome of the territories and poſſeſſions, goods, merchandize, treaſure, and other things belonging to the ſaid united company in India, have been taken from them by the ſaid Nabob of Bengal; have been ſince retaken by the ſhips of war and forces maintained, raiſed, and paid, by the ſaid united company, in conjunction with ſome of our royal ſhips of war and forces, which we have been graciouſly pleaſed to ſend to the Eaſt Indies, for the defence and aſſiſtance of the ſaid united company, againſt their enemies, and other territories or diſtricts; goods, merchandize, and effects, have been conquered and taken from ſome of the ſaid princes, or governments, in India, at variance with the ſaid united company, by the ſhips and forces of the ſaid united company alone. And whereas it is expedient for the ſaid united company, in order to enable them to ſupport the great burthen and expence of the war they are now engaged in, and of ſuch wars as they may hereafter have with any of their, or our enemies, in India, and the better to enable them, from time to time, to make peace on terms advantageous to their Trade, That we ſhould make them ſuch

grants, and give them ſuch powers, as herein after are contained. Now know ye, that we well weighing how highly it imports the honour and welfare of this our realm, and our good ſubjects thereof, that all fitting aſſiſtance and encouragement ſhould be given to the ſaid united company; and in performance of divers covenants, between our royal predeceſſors and the ſaid company, for granting to them all ſuch further reaſonable powers and privileges, as may be adviſeable for the better ſupport and improvement of their trade, have of our eſpecial grace, certain knowledge, and meer motion, given and granted, and by theſe preſents for us, our heirs, and ſucceſſors, DO give and grant unto the ſaid united company of merchants of England trading to the Eaſt Indies, their ſucceſſors and aſſigns, all ſuch booty or plunder, ſhips, veſſels, goods, merchandizes, treaſure, and other things whatſoever, which ſince our royal letters patent, of the nineteenth day of September laſt paſt, have been, or ſhall be taken or ſeized from any of the enemies of the ſaid company, or any of our enemies in the Eaſt-Indies, by any ſhips or forces of the ſaid company, employed by them, or on their behalf, within any places or limits of their trade preſcribed to them by any of the charters granted by us or any of our royal predeceſſors. Provided always, that the ſaid plunder or booty as aforeſaid be taken or ſeized during wars or hoſtilities begun and carried on in order to right and recompence the ſaid company, upon the goods, eſtates, and people of thoſe parts, from whom they ſhall ſuſtain, or ſhall have juſt and well grounded cauſe to fear, any injury, loſs, or damage, or upon any other people

who ſhall interrupt, wrong, or injure them in their ſaid trade, within the limits of their ſaid charters; or who ſhall, in an hoſtile manner, invade, or attempt to weaken or deſtroy the ſettlements of the ſaid company, or to injure our ſubjects, or others trading or reſiding within the ſaid ſettlements, or in any manner under our protection within the ſaid places or limits. And further provided always, that the booty or plunder as aforeſaid be taken in war, hoſtilities, or expeditions, begun, undertaken, carried on, and compleated by the forces raiſed and paid by the ſaid company alone, or by the ſhips employed at their ſole expence, ſaving our prerogative royal, to diſtribute the ſaid plunder and booty in ſuch manner and proportion as we ſhall think fit, in all caſes where any of the forces by land or ſea, of us, our heirs, or ſucceſſors, ſhall be appointed and commanded to act, in conjunction with the ſhips or forces of the ſaid company. And excepting always out of this our grant, all ſuch ſhips, veſſels, goods, merchandize, treaſure, and other things whatſoever, which have been or ſhall be forcibly taken or detained by the enemy from any of our ſubjects, or others trading or reſiding within the places or limits aforeſaid, under our protection, and which have been or ſhall be retaken, in conſequence of any wars, hoſtilities, or expeditions as aforeſaid, it being agreeable to juſtice and equity, and to our royal purpoſe, that the ſame ſhall be reſtored to the original owners reſpectively, as far as may be, on payment of reaſonable ſalvage. And further we have, of our like eſpecial grace, certain knowledge, and mere motion, given and granted, and by theſe preſents,

for

for us, our heirs, and ſucceſſors, do give and grant unto the ſaid united company of merchants of England trading to the Eaſt-Indies, their ſucceſſors and aſſigns, that the ſaid united company, their ſucceſſors, and aſſigns, ſhall and may, by any treaty or treaties of peace made or to be made between them, or any of their officers, ſervants, or agents employed on their behalf, and any of the Indian princes or governments, cede, reſtore, or diſpoſe of any fortreſſes, diſtricts or territories, acquired by conqueſt from any of the ſaid Indian princes or governments during the late troubles between the ſaid company and the Nabob of Bengal, or which ſhall be acquired by conqueſt in time coming: Provided always, that the ſaid company ſhall not have any power or authority whatſoever to cede, reſtore, or diſpoſe of any ſettlements, fortreſſes, diſtricts, or territories conquered from the ſubjects of any European power, without the ſpecial licence and approbation of us, our heirs and ſucceſſors. And we do, for us, our heirs and ſucceſſors, grant and declare, that theſe our letters patent, or the inrolment thereof, ſhall be in and by all things valid and effectual in the law, according to the true intent and meaning of the ſame, and ſhall be taken, conſtrued and adjudged in the moſt favourable and beneficial ſenſe for the beſt advantage of the ſaid company, as well in our courts of record, as elſewhere, notwithſtanding any nonrecital, miſrecital, defect, incertainty, or imperfection in theſe our letters patent. Witneſs Ourſelf at Weſtminſter, the fourteenth day of January. By writ of Privy Seal.

Almeſt

Almoſt all the Europeans reſident in India kept their palanquin, till lord Clive abſolutely forbid this piece of Eaſtern luxury, already prohibited by the company, to their youngeſt ſervants. He inforced the ſumptuary laws by ſevere penalties, and gave the ſtricteſt orders that none of thoſe young gentlemen ſhould be allowed even to have a roundel boy, whoſe buſineſs is to walk by his maſter and defend him with his roundel or umbrella from the heat of the ſun. The expence attending a palanquin is no leſs than thirty pounds ſterling a year. Theſe orders, no doubt, were given with a view of preſerving oeconomy among the young people; whoſe circumſtances were ſuppoſed not able to ſupport ſuch expences, and whoſe extravagancies in this and many other particulars had occaſioned their contracting ſuch debts with the natives, as they were not able to diſcharge. So far it may be allowed, that lord Clive acted very laudably to execute the company's regulations in this reſpect; but at the ſame time as it is almoſt impoſſible for a gentleman, juſt arrived from England to walk ever ſo little a diſtance, without getting an inflammatory fever; was it only from a motive of humanity, it is to be wiſhed, that the company would, at their own expence allow all their ſervants not only the uſe of umbrellas, but alſo of palanquins; ſince it muſt always be judged a duty incumbent on the conſtituents to take as much care as poſſible of the lives of their dependants in any of our diſtant ſettlements; but more eſpecially in this unhealthy part of the world.

Sometime after lord Clive's arrival in India he was complimented by an ambaſſador of the Mogul, who

who made him a preſent of an elephant of a ſtupenduous ſize, richly capariſoned. This animal was a native of Ceylon, reckoned the largeſt breed in the known world. We hope a particular deſcription of this ſagacious quadrupede, the warlike and ſtately carrier of the princes of Indoſtan, will be entertaining to our readers. His body is heavy and groſs, generally of a dark dirty colour; and though when arrived at full growth, he is from twelve to fourteen feet high, and from eighteen to twenty in circumference, yet his head is ſtill large in proportion; and what is more extraordinary, his eye is no bigger than that of an hog, which it exactly reſembles. His legs are like four large columns, rather long than ſhort, and jointed like a cat's juſt above the feet, which are round at their bottoms, and do not ſpread much beyond the bulk of the legs. His ears are flat, hanging down, and ſurprizingly large; the tail is ſmall, but long with a few briſtles at the end. At the two corners of his mouth grow two large tusks of teeth, which are what we call ivory; theſe are longer in the male elephant than in the female; but the moſt extraordinary part of this animal is his proboſcis or trunk, which is long and hollow like a trumpet, and ſerves him inſtead of a hand to feed himſelf, being able to move it with incredible agility and ſtrength, and to take up therewith the ſmalleſt thing from the ground, by means of a little point, which he can twiſt round it. Cicero in the ſecond book of the nature of the gods ſays, *manus data elephantis, gura propter magnitudinem corporis difficiles aditus habebant ad poſtum.* His common food is leaves of trees, graſs, corn and ſugar canes, of which

which laſt he is particularly fond. Notwithſtanding the unwieldineſs of this beaſt, his motions are very alert, and he walks with great eaſe, faſt enough to keep a man on a good run. Many incredible ſtories are related by ancient authors of the docility and ingenuity of this half reaſoning animal; they are ſaid to be ſuſceptible of affection, fondneſs, gratitude and modeſty. There is nothing but they might be taught: an author of veracity, relates that he had ſeen an elephant dance with two cymbals faſtened to his legs, which he touched alternately in cadence with his trunk, and that many others of the ſame ſpecies gamboled round him, keeping time with an aſtoniſhing exactneſs.

Pliny ſpeaking of the elephant which carried Porus in the battle he fought againſt Alexander the Great, tells us, that perceiving his maſter quite ſinking under the wounds which he had received, he lowered himſelf that he might ſet his maſter down without hurting him, and pulled out the arrows which ſtuck in him with his trunk: at length perceiving him to faint through loſs of blood, he placed him again upon his back, and conveyed him in ſafety to the camp: a moſt amazing inſtance of the docility and gratitude of the elephant. No wonder therefore that the ancients made uſe of them in war, and ſometimes with great ſucceſs; but ſince the invention of fire-arms they have not been found of equal uſe as formerly, for they are remarkably terrified at fire, and will at the ſight of it, frequently turn back upon their friends, and overthrow every thing that ſtands in their way: they are chiefly uſed at preſent for the fording deep

rivers, and carrying over the baggage on their backs. After the keepers have loaded them with ſeveral hundred weight, they faſten ropes to them, of which the ſoldiers taking hold, either ſwim or are drawn acroſs the river. In time of action they now and then fix an heavy iron chain to the end of their trunks, which they whirl round with ſuch agility, as to make it impoſſible for an enemy to approach them at that time. Another uſe they ſtill have for this creature in war, is to force open the gates of a city or garriſon which is cloſely beſieged. This he does by ſetting his backſide againſt them, riggling backwards and forwards with his whole might, till he has burſt the bars and forced an entrance; to prevent which, moſt of the garriſons in this country, have large ſpikes ſtuck in their gates that project to a conſiderable diſtance. However after all, thoſe prodigious animals are kept more for ſhew and grandeur than for uſe, and their keeping is attended with a very great expence, for they devour vaſt quantities of proviſion; and you muſt ſometimes regale them with a plentiful repaſt of cinnamon, of which they are exceſſively fond. It is no uncommon thing with a Nabob, if he has a mind to ruin a private gentleman, to make him a preſent of an elephant, which he is ever afterwards obliged to maintain at a greater expence than he can afford. By parting with it he would certainly fall under the diſpleaſure of the grandee, beſides forfeiting all the honour which his countrymen think is conferred upon him by ſo reſpectable a preſent.

The commerce of the Indies depended anciently in a great meaſure upon elephants. The image

of

of this creature is depicted on the walls of the Pagodas and places of worſhip in Indoſtan. The natives pay a ſort of adoration to him, as being endowed with a greater ſagacity than themſelves, and therefore pray to him for a portion of his wiſdom. The Indians relate another inſtance of the docility of thoſe creatures, that in marching with an army, they gather up every ſtick of ſize they meet with on the road, which towards the evening is ſometimes increaſed to a faggot large enough to dreſs all the proviſions for that night.

They generally ſtand under the ſhadow of ſome ſpreading tree, to prevent them being ſtung by the little ant, which notwithſtanding their gigantic ſize and bulk, is a great terror to them. To prevent his crawling about them, they are continually taking up duſt or ſand in their trunk, and throwing it over their heads and backs; they ſometimes take a whiſp of ſtraw or graſs, and bruſh themſelves down with it behind, whilſt with their briſly tail they ſweep their forepart. When you firſt approach them, they are taught by their keeper to make their obedience to you, which is done by falling almoſt backwards, and making a prodigious eructation or rattling in the throat, not much unlike the firſt breaking of thunder. The keeper then mounts his ſhoulders, which he could not poſſibly do without the elephant's aſſiſtance, who for that purpoſe crooks one of his legs: the keeper's firſt ſtep is made on his lower joint, the next on his knee, and he then ſprings upon his back, laying hold of the flap of his ear. After the elephant has performed many tricks at the word of command, then to ſhew you how capable he is of picking up

the moſt minute thing with his trunk, you are deſired to lay a ſilver fanan, a piece worth threepence, upon the ground: this, which is the ſmalleſt of all coins, the elephant feels about till he finds, then takes hold of it and gives it to the keeper, ſeated upon his back. He laſt of all throws out his trunk to its full length, by way of ſhaking hands with you. Whenever they drink, they always firſt ſtir the water, and make it fowl with their feet. The reaſon for doing this is, that the gravel or ſmall ſtones which they hereby ſwallow, help to digeſt their food. One more particular relating to theſe animals, is their ſurprizing age. Philoſtrates in his life of Apollonius Tyancus ſays, that he ſaw the very elephant on which Porus rode in the battle againſt Alexander, that elephant muſt have been above 400 years of age. That they live between five and three hundred years is ſtrongly believed, and it is certain they are in full vigour at much above an hundred.

The natives catch the elephant by the following method: they have two places ſtrongly incloſed; one contains ſeveral acres of land, the other is but ſmall: when they intend to hunt, which they always do in the night, they go in a large company, with each man a veſſel of fire on his head. As ſoon as the elephant ſees the light, he purſues; the man that is ſingled out runs into the large incloſure, there he drops his fire, and retires to a tree; the elephant preſently employs himſelf in trampling and ſcattering about the fire. When they have a ſufficient number of them in the large incloſure, they ſhut up the firſt paſſage, and then decoy the elephants one by one into the ſmall place, where they

they get ropes about them, and by the help of ſome elephants carries them home. Sometimes however the men are overtaken before they reach the incloſure, when they throw down the fire, and fly to the next tree for ſecurity.

In the year 1764, Sujah al Dowlah was conquered by the Eaſt India company, whoſe ſervants took poſſeſſion of and divided his country, giving Illahabad and other parts to the Mogul Shah Allum, and themſelves reſerving for the company the zemindary, or juriſdiction of Gharipoor and Bernares, where they eſtabliſhed a factory under a chief and council and raiſed the reveuues for two years.

In Auguſt 1765, lord Clive thought proper for very forcible reaſons to reverſe this ſyſtem, and reſtore him to a part of his dominions: but the ſtrong fortreſs of Chunangur which commands the paſſage of the Ganges into his territories, the key of the country, was garriſoned by the Engliſh troops, which fort they retain to this day.

The Great Mogul Shab Allum his maſter, as he was afterwards called, reſided at Illahabad under the care and protection of general Smith and Sir Robert Barker, alternately accompanied with a brigade of the company's troops more formidable than the whole army that beat him at the battle of Buxar, when in the meridian of his glory, and joined by Coſſa Ali Khan with his artillery and eight battalions of diſciplined ſeapoys.

As we are deſired by our readers to inform them with the ceremonial obſerved between the Indian princes and the commanders by ſea and land of the Europeans, we ſhall mention here the particulars of the interview of the admirals Watſon and Pocock,

tock, with Mahomet Ally, Nabob of Arcot in in 1755. The late promotion of theſe two gallant officers to the red and white flags, had given univerſal ſatisfaction to the officers of the marine department, the king's troops and the company's land forces; as the two admirals had carried themſelves towards them all with that politeneſs and affability which are always ſure to gain reſpect and affection. Whilſt the Engliſh ſquadron lay at Fort St. David, Mahomed Ally the ill-fated Nabob of Arcot, (in whoſe intereſt the company was engaged) arrived in the neighbourhood. As ſoon as he drew near the boundaries, colonel Aldercron with a captain's guard, immediately waited upon him; as did the ſame day Mr. Starke the deputy governor of St. David's, and his whole council. The next morning the admirals Watſon and Pocock, with the ſeveral captains, lieutenants, and midſhipmen of the ſquadron made him a viſit; admiral Watſon having firſt given him notice of their intention, and the Nabob in return ſending word he was ready to receive them. The ceremonial obſerved upon this occaſion was, the admirals, captains and lieutenants were carried in palanquins two and two a-breaſt. The number of midſhipmen indeed was ſo great, that no palanquins could be got for them; they therefore walked on foot, four and four a-breaſt, at the head of the palanquin's, dreſſed in their uniforms, and with their ſwords. The admiral's ſecretary, chaplain, and a few other ſtaff officers of the ſquadron cloſed the proceſſion. At their coming within a ſmall diſtance of the Nabob's camp, they were met by his captain-general, who was ſent out in compliment to the admiral, and who preſently

ſently conducted him to the Nabob's tent: at the entrance of which he ſtood, and received Mr. Watſon with great politeneſs, embracing him at the ſame time in his arms. The admiral immediately preſented to him his brother officer Mr. Pocock, and after him, the captains, lieutenants, and midſhipmen, acquainting the Nabob as he received them ſeverally to his embraces, in what character they ſtood. When this firſt ceremony was over, the Nabob ſhewed them the ſeveral apartments of his tent; placed admiral Watſon on a wooll-pack which made his ſeat ſomewhat more raiſed than the reſt. At Mr. Watſon's left hand Mr. Pocock was ſeated; and to the left of him the captains, lieutenants, &c. On the admiral's right hand the Nabob placed himſelf, and next him were ranged in order the ſeveral officers of his court.

The Nabob was about forty years of age and of a middle ſtature. His complexion was much lighter than that of a common Indian; his dreſs was entirely white, and conſiſted of a long robe or veſtment which reached down to his heels. His turban was alſo white and quite plain. In ſhort he had no other mark of diſtinction about him, but that of a truly majeſtic countenance tempered with a great deal of pleaſantneſs and affability. The admiral (by means of an interpreter, congratulated the Nabob on his ſeeing him in ſuch good health, and aſſured him that he was particularly happy in having this opportunity of paying him perſonally theſe marks of friendſhip and eſteem which he had long entertained for him, on account of his excellent character. To this compliment of the

the admiral the Nabob made a very handſome reply. Mr. Watſon ſaid, that he was extremely concerned for the calamities which the Nabob's country had experienced in the late war; but he hoped better times were now coming on, which would more than compenſate for all paſt misfortunes. The Nabob in the Eaſtern ſtile replied, "it is true ſir, that I have ſuffered much, but the remembrance of thoſe troubles is no more; the heavens have made me ample amends for all theſe misfortunes in the honour I receive from your viſit. Mr. Watſon with a heart full of honeſty, and with a countenance which ſpoke the ſincerity of his ſoul, aſſured him, that the thing he moſt paſſionately wiſhed for, was an occaſion to do him ſervice; and that it was principally for this purpoſe, the king his maſter had ſent him with his ſquadron into the Indian ſeas. The Nabob appeared greatly pleaſed with the frankneſs of this declaration, and immediately turning to the ſeveral officers of his court, he repeated to them the admiral's words, and they too, upon hearing them, did not fail to participate in the joy of their maſter.

The Nabob upon this occaſion ordered a rich perfume of what is called the otta of roſes to be brought to him, a few drops of which he put into his hands, and having himſelf opened the boſom of Mr. Watſon's ſhirt, he rubbed the ſame over the admiral's breaſt. This was intended as the higheſt honour he could confer upon him. He afterwards did the ſame to admiral Pocock; and his treaſurer performed this ceremony on all the other officers: bettel-nut and chunam were then moſt plentifully diſtri-

diſtributed, and ſhowers of roſe water fell upon all. Mahomet Ally then ſollicited Mr. Watſon to give him leave to make him a preſent, which the latter nobly declined, repeating to him, "that the king of Great Britain had ſent him thither to do the Nabob's ſervice, and to ſecure to him his country from the attacks of all his enemies, but could never think of diſtreſſing him by accepting preſents, which he very well knew in the preſent circumſtances of things could be but ill ſpared. He concluded with deſiring him always to look upon him as his ſincere well wiſher, who would be glad to ſhew him thoſe real marks of friendſhip which his king and countrymen had for him, and of the attention which they paid to his intereſts. The Nabob appeared extremely ſurpriſed at this uncommon ſtrain of generoſity in the admiral, though at the ſame time he could not be diſpleaſed with it. They parted ſoon after exchanging a more familiar embrace than what they had given each other at the firſt meeting. Mr. Watſon returned to the fort with his whole company which conſiſted of above one hundred perſons, and all had the honour of dining with him.

The day following captain Haſlup, a brave and experienced officer, and commandant of his majeſty's artillery, waited upon the Nabob, accompanied with almoſt all the officers in that department, and they all met with a moſt gracious reception.

Of all the princes of the Deckan, none was ſo free from the faults of the country as this Nabob, having always experienced the invariable friendſhip of the Engliſh, he had been taught the true

value of honour and conſtancy, and throughout his conduct manifeſted uncommon gratitude and fidelity to his engagement. The ſums which the company had expended in the ſupport of his cauſe, inſtead of raiſing in him the expectation of being farther burthenſome to them, lay like a heavy weight upon his mind; and the diſtreſs he was in for money, with the impoſſibility of paying any conſiderable part of his debts to the company, viſibly affected his health: his brothers who accompanied him, having a ſeparate command, would each of them keep up as many attendants, and as large an expence as the Nabob himſelf. Exhauſted by this ill-timed profuſion, he was not able to furniſh the workmen and materials with which he had engaged to ſupply our engineers for compleating their fortifications; nor even to find money for his own troops to prevent them from disbanding. Upon conſideration of this ſtate of the Nabob's affairs it was prudently determined to take an exact account of his revenues, which were mortgaged to the company, in order to judge what ſums were actually forthcoming for their uſe, after a due proportion ſhould be allotted, for the maintenance of himſelf and the ſupport of his dignity.

It was at the ſame time recommended to him, to ſettle as ſoon as poſſible at Arcot, his capital, with all his family, as well to ſave expence, by reducing their ſeveral retinues to one houſhold, as for the credit of his government. But it was of great conſequence to his revenues, before he left the countries of Madura and Tanevelly, which uſed to produce an immenſe income, to collect the tribute,

tribute, which had not been paid during the troubles, and alſo to induce the ſeveral Polygars, and all ſubordinate governors to acknowledge the Nabob's right, by receiving grants from him for the countries they held under his government. From theſe conſiderations, an expedition was ordered into the Madura and Tinevelly countries to collect the revenues, under the command of Alexander Heron, lieutenant colonel in the king's ſervice, and major of the company's forces, attended by Mr. Maunſell, to act together with the Nabob's agent, as commiſſaries for the adminiſtration of the money received. Colonel Heron had very little advanced the company's affairs by his conduct at Madura and Tinevelly. The money he collected did not amount to the charges of his expedition, and the terror of his army was ſo little reſpected in the country, that Miſane, the governor of Madura, having cut off a party that was ſent to ſurprize him, had the boldneſs to come to the very gates of Tinevelly, while the army was there, and plunder the villages around. Lieutenant colonel Heron was tried by a court martial for miſconduct in this expedition. It was proved that he had entered into a private agreement with the Nabob's brother, which reflected a diſgrace upon his military character.

In the viſit which the Nabob made to the two admirals, he came from his camp to within half a mile of the fort, ſeated on the back of an elephant. He was accompanied by two moſt beautiful boys, his ſons, who rode on the ſame animal, and whom he afterwards introduced to the admirals. Nine other elephants were loaded with his grandees, do-

meſtics, and band of muſic. His train conſiſted of ten or twelve camels, beſides four hundred horſes, five thouſand ſeapoys, and perhaps ten thouſand ſpectators. As ſoon as he came near the fort he alighted from his elephant, and then got into his palanquin of an uncommon magnificence; the bed and cuſhion being embroidered and inlaid with gold. The admirals met him at the entrance of the fort, and as they were now well acquainted, they familiarly embraced him, and led him up the ſtairs into the great room deſigned for his reception, where he was placed between them, on a ſeat covered with crimſon velvet cuſhions embroidered with gold. The Rev. Mr. Cable at the admiral's requeſt, had put on his canonical dreſs, and the nabob perceiving that he was uncommonly attired, ſeemed very deſirous of knowing who he was. Upon being informed that he was the admiral's chaplain, he made him a ſecond ſalaam, or bow, and deſired much that his own faquier might be introduced to him, who entered preſently afterwards in his apoſtolic habit. He had a kind of white cloth that went round his loins, and another of a coarſer ſort flung careleſsly over one ſhoulder. He had no turban, and his hair was tied in a knot behind, while his beard hung down almoſt to his middle; he wore a ſort of ſandals on his feet, and looſe iron chains about his legs; he had ſomething very wild and ſtaring in his looks, and indeed none are admitted into this particular order, without having manifeſted ſome degree of enthuſiaſm and madneſs. The two holy men congratulated each other on their reſpective office, and then ſeated themſelves with the reſt of the company. The

Nabob

Nabob was ſaluted by the guns of the fort; and all the officers and troops of the garriſon were under arms upon the occaſion: the ſeveral ſhips of the ſquadron likewiſe fired upon a certain ſignal being given to them from the fort. The Nabob attentively eyed theſe laſt, and ſeemed much pleaſed with the view of them, though they lay at their anchors at three miles diſtance from St. David's. The Indian cuſtoms differ ſo much from our's in regard to eating, that the admiral could not aſk the Nabob to dine with him. Having taken leave of the admirals, he directed his courſe to the water-ſide, where he had ordered his tents to be pitched, that he might entertain himſelf with a ſea proſpect. After dinner he returned colonel Aldercron's and the governor's viſits, and the next day that of captain Haſlup. Some of his grandees and generals having been on board the admiral's fleet, they gave him ſo pleaſing an account of it, that the Nabob reſolved to go on board himſelf; and accordingly, having ſignified his deſign to the admiral, the latter appointed next morning for attending him to the fleet.

The Nabob came accordingly, and paſſed thro' the ſwell in the boat, and after he got on board, heard the ſhip ſalute him without any ſurpriſe or emotion at their noiſe. Admiral Watſon led him by the hand to every part of the veſſel. He was very inquiſitive, and made many pertinent remarks on ſo vaſt, ſo curious, and wonderful a machine; but above all other things, the lower deck battery, which conſiſted of 28 guns, carrying balls of 32 pounds, ſtruck him with aſtoniſhment. The admiral perceiving this, ordered the gunner to exer-

ciſe

ciſe a few of the cannon as in the time of an engagement. The Nabob appeared greatly pleaſed with this and the other different manoeuvres within the ſhip; and afterwards retiring to the great cabbin, the admiral told him, he would now give him a view of a man of war under ſail; and accordingly threw out the tyger's ſignal to chace to windward. Captain Latham having had previous notice of the admiral's intention, immediately ſlipped his cable, ſet his ſails, and worked to windward, and as he paſſed the Kent's ſtern, ſaluted the Nabob with his cannon. This added greatly to the ſatisfaction he had before felt, and he expreſſed himſelf thoroughly ſenſible of the honour that had been done him. Both the admirals accompanied him when he went aſhore, and on his leaving the ſhip the whole ſquadron fired together. The yards were manned at the ſame time, and the ſailors gave three hearty cheers. This general acclamation gave the Nabob a particular pleaſure, and he ordered the interpreter to tell the admiral it was "Truly warlike." The admiral's waited on the Nabob to his tent, where they parted, after exchanging reciprocal profeſſions of eſteem and friendſhip for each other.

As Mr. Watſon repreſented his Britannic majeſty, he was diſpenſed from the humiliating ceremony, of pulling off his ſhoes, according to cuſtom, at entering the Nabob's tent. Upon the day the Nabob returned Mr. Watſon's viſit, the admiral engaged a ſet of women, who are called dancing girls, upon every joyful occaſion. Their movements are more like tumbling, or ſhewing poſtures than dancing. Their dreſs is thin and light, and

their

their hair, necks, ears, arms, wriſts, fingers, legs, feet, and even the toes are covered with rings of gold and ſilver, made after a clumſy manner. They wear two rings in their noſes, and by their ſtaring looks and odd geſticulations, they look more like mad women than morris-dancers. The band of muſic that attends them is compoſed of three or four men, who hold two pieces of bell-metal in their hands, with which they make an inceſſant noiſe; another man beats what he is pleaſed to call a drum, and the vocal muſic conſiſts in two ſinging men. Theſe dancing girls are ſometimes made uſe of in their religious ceremonies; they are ſelected for their ſuperior beauty, and very profitable to the prieſts, who proſtitute them to all comers.

According to our plan, to do juſtice to all the commanders by ſea and land in the laſt Indian war, a retroſpect of ſome remarkable particulars of the brave, the generous, the humane and truly well-bred admiral Watſon, cannot but pleaſe whomſoever is affected by great and noble deeds.

The company allowed the admiral and his principal attendants palanquins, over and above the five pagodas a-day (two pounds ſterling) which were given him to defray the expences of his table. As the Indian horſes are of little value, and yet very ſcarce, oxen are frequently made uſe of in their ſtead; the admiral had a chaiſe and pair of theſe oxen allowed him alſo by the company. They are commonly white, have a large pair of perpendicular horns and black noſes.

The barbarous cuſtom of offering up the wife to the manes of her dead huſband, ſtill exiſts among the

the Indians. Admiral Watſon and ſeveral other gentlemen of his ſquadron were preſent at one of theſe ſacrifices, and were all greatly affected at the ſight. Mr. Watſon diſcovering, as he imagined, ſome ſigns of reluctance in the woman, while ſhe was advancing towards the funeral pile, ordered his interpreter to go and aſk her, whether ſhe devoted herſelf voluntarily to the flames? aſſuring her that if ſhe was compelled to do it, he would interpoſe and ſave her. He deſired, that ſhe would unreſervedly ſpeak the real ſentiments of her heart; that if ſhe choſe to live, ſhe had only to ſay ſo; that he would take care to ſecure her from the reſentment of the Bramins on one hand, and from the reproaches of her relations on the other; and ſettle ſo ample a proviſion upon her, that for the future ſhe ſhould be enabled to live quite independent of her family, and enjoy every comfort of life. The poor woman was by no means inſenſible of the admiral's kindneſs; ſhe deſired the interpreter to return him her moſt grateful thanks, but withal to aſſure him, that ſhe was about to die both voluntarily and chearfully. She ſoon afterwards placed herſelf at full length on a plat form which had been erected for the purpoſe; folded her arms round the neck and breaſt of the corpſe, and with the greateſt tranquility and compoſure continued the embrace until both their bodies were covered with the fire-wood heaped upon them. Then their neareſt relation put fire to the pile, which was no ſooner lighted, than the Bramins, ſeconded by the multitude, made a loud noiſe, and continued it as long as they ſuppoſed any life could remain in the victim. This was done probably to prevent the woman's ſhrieks from

from being heard. The admiral and the company left the place with exceeding dejection of ſpirits; while the natives (more eſpecially the Bramins) rejoiced and triumphed in this diabolical rite.

Soon after the reduction of Geriah, admiral Watſon took an opportunity of viſiting the unfortunate captives, Angria's two wives and both his children; the interview between them was beyond meaſure affecting. Upon his entering their houſe, the whole family made a grand ſalaam, or reverential bending of their bodies, touching the very ground with their faces, and ſhedding floods of tears. The admiral deſired them to be comforted, adding, "that they were now under his protection, and that no kind of injury ſhould be done them;" they then again made the ſalaam. The mother of Angria, though ſtrongly affected with theſe teſtimonies of kindneſs and humanity, yet could not help crying out "That the people had no king, ſhe no ſon, her daughters no husband, the children no father." The admiral replied, "that from henceforwarded they muſt look upon him as their father and their friend." Upon which the youngeſt child a boy of about ſix years old, ſobbing, ſaid, "Then you ſhall be my father," and immediately took the admiral by the hand, and called him father. This action of the child was ſo very affecting, it quite over-poured that brave and generous man's heart, and he turned from the innocent youth for a while, to prevent the falling of theſe tears, which a tender pity forced from his ſobbing breaſt. At their own requeſt, he permitted them to remain in Geriah.

The admiral who delighted in acts of equity ordered captain Coote, whom he had appointed governor of the fort of Calcutta to take care that no diſorders ſhould be committed by his majeſty's troops, or any other people; but to treat the natives with humanity, and to prevent the plunder of a rapacious ſoldiery, as ſuch offenders might depend on the ſevereſt puniſhment. Soon after captain Coote had taken poſſeſſion of the fort, he preſented to colonel Clive the order which he had received from the admiral, appointing him governor of the fort. The colonel denied any authority admiral Watſon had to appoint an inferior officer to him as governor, and told captain Coote, that he would take on himſelf the command; and if he offered to obſtruct him, or diſobey his orders, he would immediately put him under an arreſt. The captain deſired that he might acquaint admiral Watſon with theſe particulars; to which the colonel conſented. Upon this the admiral ſent, captain Spence on ſhore, to know by what authority the colonel took upon him the command of the fort; who anſwered, by the authority of his majeſty's commiſſion as lieutenant-colonel, and alſo commander in chief of the land forces. Captain Spence went to the admiral with this anſwer, and ſoon returned with a meſſage from Mr. Watſon to the colonel, that if he did not abandon the fort, he would fire him out; the colonel replied, he could not anſwer for the conſequences, but that he would not give up his command; but his meſſage implied, that if the admiral would come on ſhore and command in perſon, he ſhould have no manner of objection to it; and on admiral Watſon's

ſon's going on ſhore the next day, the colonel delivered the keys of the garriſon into his hands, and then the admiral delivered them to the late governor Mr. Drake and his council.

The following extract of a letter wrote by the admiral Seragah Dowlah Suabaldar of the provinces of Bengal, Bahar and Nixa, ſhews his heart and his principles. "Princes and rulers of ſtate, ſays he, not ſeeing with their own eyes, nor hearing with their own ears, are often miſinformed, and the truth kept from them by the arts of crafty and wicked men; was it becoming the juſtice of a prince, continued he, to ruin and deſtroy, (at Calcutta) ſo many innocent people, as had no way offended, but who relying on the faith of a royal grant, expected protection and ſecurity both to their property and lives, inſtead of oppreſſion and murder, which they unhappily found? are theſe actions becoming the juſtice of a prince? nobody will ſay they are; as great princes delight in ſhewing mercy." He concluded thus, "Although I am a ſoldier as well as you, I had rather receive ſatisfaction from your own inclination to do juſtice, than be obliged to force it from you by the diſtreſs of your innocent ſubjects."

After the ſtorming of the Nabob's camp, the admiral twiſted the olive branch with the laurel, and offered him peace in the following words, which reflect upon him immortal honour. "I was always ſo averſe to hoſtilies, that even in the midſt of victory, I ſtopt ſhort to liſten to the voice of peace. I am ſtill inclined to it, notwithſtanding the little proſpect of its taking place. However, to take away all blame from me, both in the eyes of

God and man, and to convince the world how much rather I wiſh to ſee the happineſs of mankind than their miſery, I write this.

If you really and ſincerely mean to treat of peace, liſten to the propoſals which will be made by the gentlemen who are now with you. They aſk nothing but juſtice, nor mean any thing more than the mutual good of both nations. If you refuſe it, remember, that princes are only placed at the head of mankind to procure their happineſs, and that they muſt one day give a ſevere account, if through ambition, revenge or avarice, they fail in their duty. I have done mine in giving you my advice."

All the dealings of the admiral were ſtamped with ſuch frankneſs and ſincerity, that the Indians to this day quote him as a pattern of faith and honour. "Will not God, ſaid he, in another letter, the avenger of perjury puniſh us, if we do not fulfil our oaths. True ſoldiers and men of honour never violate their words."

The reduction of Chandernagore had coſt the lives of many brave young officers, of the Admiral's ſquadron; the Kent had received 138 cannon ſhot through her ſides near the fort, beſides being greatly damaged in her maſts and rigging. Thirty common men were killed on the ſpot in her, and 74 wounded. Among the dead was Mr. Perreau, the admiral's firſt lieutenant, who fell in the bloom of youth, unſpeakably lamented by all. Captain Speke was dangerouſly wounded in the leg, and the ſame ſhot carried off the thigh of his ſon, who afterwards died of the wound. The number of the

ſlain

ſlain on board the Tyger, almoſt equalled thoſe in the Kent. Admiral Pocock was ſlightly wounded, but Mr. Philps, the maſter mortally.

Every humane boſom muſt needs commiſerate the death of ſo many gallant Britiſh young men, who fell in this day's action. When admiral Watſon had the unhappineſs to ſee both the father and ſon fall in the ſame inſtant, he immediately went up to them, and by the moſt tender and pathetic expreſſions, tried to alleviate their diſtreſs.

Captain Speke who had obſerved his ſon's leg to be hanging only by the ſkin; ſaid to the Admiral "Indeed, Sir, this was a cruel ſhot, "to knock down both the father and the ſon." Mr. Watſon's heart was too full to make the leaſt reply. He only ordered them both to be immediately carried to the ſurgeon. The eyes of the brave youth, overflowed with tears, not for his own, but for his father's fate.

When Mr. Ives, the ſurgeon, told him he muſt amputate above the joint, he clapped his hands together, and lifting his eyes in the moſt devout and fervent manner towards heaven, ſaid "Good "God, do thou enable me to behave in my pre-"ſent circumſtances, worthy my father's ſon." After this ejaculatory prayer, he ſhewed his reſignation and his intrepidity during the operation, for he never ſpoke a word or uttered a groan that could be heard at a yard diſtance. The ſilent trickling tears of the unhappy father, who lay juſt by his darling ſon, expreſſed his feelings better than they can be deſcribed. The worthy youth hearing before his death, that his father was out of

danger

danger calmly ſurrendered up a valuable life to his Creator.

The dawn of peace and proſperity in the province of Bengal was overcaſt by the juſtly lamented death of admiral Watſon, who had retrieved by his courage, conduct and untainted honour, the reputation of the Britiſh faith and glory in Indoſtan.

No man lived more eſteemed, or died more regretted than admiral Watſon. His corpſe was buried at Calcutta, one of the laſt ſcenes of his earthly triumphs, and attended by moſt of the officers in the land and ſea ſervice. All the French gentlemen who were then priſoners of war, and ſeveral thouſands of Armenians and Indians followed him to his grave; there was ſcarcely an individual among them all that did not ſhed a tear, or give ſome other mark of unfeigned ſorrow. The univerſal mourning of the fleet, army and ſettlements, juſtified the high opinion of his ſuperior merit, and eminent ſervices.

The admiral had diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the early part of his life in divers engagements and was raiſed without favour or intereſt, but that of his own merit to the rank he filled in the navy with univerſal eſteem and applauſe. Before he was appointed to the command of the ſquadron in the Eaſt Indies, he had retired into the country, and engaged again in a life of action for his country's ſake. He had a manly commanding aſpect: his temper naturally warm, was the ſpontaneous flow of beneficence and humanity. His manners was eaſy, polite, endearing and almoſt irreſiſtible. His ſentiments were noble and generous, and though he was naturally ſober and temperate, he promoted at his

table

table mirth with decency, and jollity without indiſcretion. He excelled in the epiſtolary ſtile by an unſtudied elegance and charming preciſion: he had ſtudied man and things more then books, and ſhewed an amazing ſagacity in finding out real characters. Though firm in his reſolutions, he was open to conviction, and generouſly proclaimed the merit of thoſe who had ſhared with him the ſucceſs of his ſucceſsful expeditions. He never introduced into converſation the engagements in which he had been a conſpicuous actor and declined with modeſty the praiſes juſtly due to his gallant conduct and experience in military affairs. He was religious without bigotry, a kind and faithful huſband, an affectionate father, a ſincere friend, and a good citizen. His integrity, beneficence and diſintereſtedneſs were ſuch as to become almoſt proverbial amongſt the natives and Europeans; the alluring proſpect of gain did not weigh with him when thoſe purſuits were incompatible with the ſervice of his king and country. His ardent zeal his juſt and unbiaſſed ſentiments almoſt without example in the navy, raiſed the admiration of his exalted character above the ſhafts of envy and detraction.

Several of our readers having complained, that my account of the battle of Plaſſey was very ſuperficial.* I ſhall according to their deſire, give here a full and authentic account of it.

Serajah Dowlah, after his taking Calcutta, had behaved with ſuch inſolence and cruelty towards his own ſubjects, that ſeveral of the grandees of his court entered into a confederacy to depoſe him. He had diſplayed the ſeverity of his nature in ſo many

many inſtances, as to ſtrike an univerſal terror; and from the fickleneſs of his diſpoſition, no man who was near him, and in his power, could think himſelf ſafe. Meer Jaffier Ali Khan, a man of great power and influence (and who had married the ſiſter of Suajah's predeceſſor and grand-father, Alverdy Khan) conducted the deſign of depriving the Nabob of that power, he had ſo egregiouſly abuſed; he was ſeconded in it by Rogdullub, general of horſe, and by Juggetſeet, who was a banker to the Nabob, and eſteemed the richeſt merchant in all India. Theſe three leading men ſoon communicated their deſigns to Mr. Watts, the Engliſh reſident at the Darbur or Nabob's court, and he to colonel Clive and the ſecret committee at Calcutta. The chiefs there did not heſitate long about coming into the ſcheme. Great dexterity as well as ſecrecy, being neceſſary in executing the plan for a revolution, the whole management thereof, was left to colonel Clive and to Mr. Watts. To avoid ſuſpicion it was neceſſary that Mr. Watſon ſhould not be obſerved to have a frequent intercourſe with Jaffier: he therefore entruſted one Omichand, a Gentoo merchant with the ſecret, and through him carried on his correſpondence with Meer Jaffier. Omichand was a man of the deepeſt cunning and moſt inſatiable avarice, and ſtrongly ſuſpected to have been the principal perſon that fomented the late troubles againſt the Engliſh, in hopes of pecuniary advantages to himſelf: Mr. Watt's did not ſufficiently know the man till too late. Omichand after the treaty was ſo far advanced, that a treaty was juſt on the point of being ſigned with Meer Jaffier, unreaſonably demand-

demanded a quarter part of all the Nabob's treaſure, which was ſuppoſed to amount to 64 croze or 80 millions ſterling. His final terms were 30 lacks of rupees for himſelf by eſpecial articles in the treaty; and he made no ſcruple to aſſure Mr. Watts, that if his demand was not complied with, he would inſtantly inform the Nabob of the ſchemes, when every Engliſhman within his reach would certainly be put to the ſevereſt death. In this dilemna Mr. Watts applied to Meer Jaffier, who was determined not to accede to ſuch terms, if any means of obviating them could be deviſed. Mr. Watts then wrote to the ſelect committee, who ſeeing that the fate of all depended upon temporizing with Omichund, and being at the ſame time very averſe to ſubmit to the extortions of ſuch a conſummate villain, contrived that two treaties ſhould be executed and ſent up to Meer Jaffier, who was to be let into the ſecret. One treaty was the real one to be abided by, the other was fictitious, but with no other difference than that it contained the article of thirty lack for Omichund. The real treaty was executed privately by Meer Jaffier; the fictitious treaty was alſo executed by him, and in the preſence of Omichund, who was thereupon perfectly ſatisfied. Colonel Clive and all the ſelect committee ſigned alſo this fictitious treaty, but admiral Watſon who had ſigned the real one, refuſed to ſign the other. A ſtrict principle of delicacy, which in him was ſuperior to any point of policy, operated too ſtrongly on his mind, to permit him to join in a deception of this nature; however, all claſſes of people, from their knowledge of Omi-

chund's avarice and treachery applauded the artifice by which he was outwitted.

The tenour of the treaty executed by Meer Mahomet Jaffier Khan Bahadar, with admiral Watſon, colonel Clive, and the counſellors Drake and Watts, was never to allow the French to ſettle in the province of Bengal (the paradiſe of nations) Bahar and Orixa. To pay the Engliſh company in conſideration of the loſſes which they had ſuſtained by the capture and plunder of Calcutta one crore of rupees, (1,250,000) fifty lacks of rupees to the Engliſh inhabitants at Calcutta, and twenty lacks of rupees to the Gentoos, Moors, &c. for the effects plundered from them; and ſeven lacks to the Armenian inhabitants, the diſtribution of theſe ſums was left to admiral Watſon, colonel Clive, meſſieurs Drake, Watts, Kilpatrick and Becher. The boundaries of Calcutta were enlarged.

Advice having been received from Meer Jaffier and the other confederates, that all things were in readineſs with them; the whole army marched forwards and the colonel wrote to Surajah Dowlah: that his excellency had not thought fit to ſet any value on the friendſhip of the Engliſh, but had in every thing diſcouraged as much as poſſible the company's buſineſs, intercepted their trade and ſearching their factory at Caſſimbuzar for ammunition and warlike ſtores, on pretence of their intending an attempt upon his life, in the time of profound peace, threatening them with an inſtant rupture, if they did not ſubmit to the ſearch. That he granted an open protection to the king's enemies, in allowing to Mr. Law ten thouſand rupees

per

per month, which ſhewed his intention to fall upon the Engliſh, as ſoon as the abſence of their troops and fleet might expoſe them to his hoſtile intentions. The colonel complained bitterly of ſo many inſults and infractions. He ſolemnly declared that his intentions were to have fought for him to the laſt drop of his blood; but ſeeing his excellency had in every reſpect deviated from his engagements, he had determined with the approbation of all who were charged with the company's affairs, to proceed immediately to Caſſimbuzar, and ſubmit their diſputes to the arbitration of Meer Jaffier, Rogdullab, Jugget Seet, and others of his great men; he concluded with telling him, that the rains being ſo near, it required many days to receive an anſwer, therefore he had found it neceſſary to wait upon him immediately.

The Engliſh army conſiſted of 750 infantry, (including 100 Topaſſes) about 150 of the train, including 50 ſailors with ſeven midſhipmen, under the command of lieutenant Haſler, 2100 ſeapoys, eight pieces of cannon ſix pounders, and one haut buitzer. The Europeans and artillery were embarked in boats, and the ſeapoys marched on to the northward through Hughley. The Bridgewater alſo ſailed up the river as far as that place, to keep it in awe, and to preſerve communication between the colonel and the ſquadron. The admiral, firſt lieutenant Mr. Clarke, with a detachment of 150 ſeamen garriſoned Chandenagora, and the ſhips effectually ſecured Calcutta from any kind of inſult while a few topaſſes were appointed to guard the French priſoners.

Theſe meaſures being taken, the army advanced towards Muxadabad; Mr. Watts and other gentlemen, with fifty ſoldiers, who had made their eſcape from Coſſimbuzar, arrived at the army; and major Coote was ſent forward with a detachment of 200 Europeans, 500 ſeapoys, one field piece and a hautbuitzer, to reduce Cutwah, a fort belonging to the Nabob, ſituated on the bank of Coſſimbuzar, near about half a mile in circumference. As he was reconnoitring the place, one of the ſoldiers of the party grown delirious, while in the agony of death, made ſo great a noiſe as to diſcover to the enemy where they were; on which they began a briſk firing, and obliged the major for the preſent to alter his poſition; but he preſently afterwards made a lodgement on a large baſtion, and the next day, after ſome oppoſition, the enemy abandoned the fort, and left to the conqueror 14 pieces of cannon of different calibers, and a large quantity of grain and ammunition.

When the army was within two days march of Manadabad, colonel Clive having received ſome diſagreeable advices from Meer Jaffier, ſummoned a council of war upon the occaſion, and in conſequence of their reſolution, the colonel halted where he was, and ſent an expreſs to Calcutta, deſiring freſh orders: however, the ſame evening he received a ſecond meſſage from Meer Jaffier, aſſuring him of his due performance of the articles mentioned in the treaty, but informing him that he was ſo ſurrounded with ſpies, as to be obliged to act with the greateſt caution. This intelligence ſoon determined the colonel to puſh on, and without waiting for any inſtructions from Calcutta, he gave orders

orders for the army to hold themſelves in readineſs to march the next morning, when leaving a ſub-altern officer with all the ſick at Cutwah, he broke up his camp, and marched towards the enemy, through water almoſt to the ſoldiers middles, the rainy ſeaſon being now ſet in. The army having croſſed the river, reached Plaſſey grove, after a very fatiguing march, and through a whole night's rain. Advice having been brought to the colonel, on his arrival at the grove, that the Nabob's van-guard, conſiſting of 6000 men was within three miles of our army, he ordered an advanced guard of 200 Europeans and 300 ſeapoys, with two pieces of cannon, to poſt themſelves at Plaſſey houſe, and ſeveral guards of ſeapoys at proper diſtances from each other round the grove. At day-break of the 23d of June, the Nabob's army was perceived marching out of their lines towards the grove, which we were in poſſeſſion of. Their intention ſeemed to furround the Engliſh. The colonel hereupon formed his army; the Europeans he divided in four diviſions; the firſt he put under the command of major Kilpatrick, the ſecond under major Grant, the third under major Coote, and the fourth under captain Gaupp. The ſeapoys were formed on the right and left. Plaſſey grove is ſurrounded by a bank; our army's left flank was covered by Plaſſey houſe and river, and the right flank by the grove.

The enemy's army kept on marching towards ours in deep columns, ſupported by a large train of artillery, conſiſting of 53 pieces of cannon, chiefly of 18, 24, and 32 pounders. Their manoeuvres upon this occaſion, differed materially

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from thoſe they had been accuſtomed to; for inſtead of poſting their artillery all together as was their uſual practice, they diſperſed them between the diviſions of their troops, and not above two or three pieces of cannon on a ſpot: ſo that an attack upon any one part of their artillery could not have been deciſive. In this order they continued marching as far as the river would permit; but as ſoon as their rear was out of the camp, failing in their plan to ſurround us, they halted; and a body of about 50 French, advancing in front of a large detachment of their army, commanded by Meer Modun one of their principal generals, with four pieces of cannon, lodged themſelves within the banks of a tank or pond of water, diſtant from us about 600 yards, and began a briſk cannonade.

The Engliſh army was firſt drawn up without the bank which ſurrounded the grove, but ſoon found ſuch a ſhower of balls pouring upon them from the enemy's cannon, that the colonel thought proper they ſhould retire under cover of the bank leaving two field pieces without, while the other four were kept playing through the breeches in the bank. Our left wing was ſtill covered by Plaſſey houſe, which was about fifty yards diſtant, and cloſe to the river ſide.

In this ſituation both armies remained till about 12 o'clock, when a heavy ſhower of rain falling, the enemy's horſe advanced, as to take advantage of it, but when they found that our field pieces continued firing notwithſtanding the rain, their ardour was checked; the rain ceaſing, the cannonading continued till about three in the afternoon, when they retired without confuſion to their old camp

camp, their artillery marching firſt. And now a large corps on the left of our troops, was ſeen moving in ſuch a manner as to make it doubtful, whether their aim was to poſſeſs themſelves of the village to the left againſt us, or whether they were friends and wanted to join our army; but they proved afterwards to be friends under Meer Jaffier's command; however (as no ſignal had been agreed on owing to the miſcarriage of a meſſenger which he had diſpatched to the colonel on the morning) they were kept at a diſtance by our field pieces; after this retreat of the enemy, colonel Clive, leaving orders with major Kilpatrick, to ſend him notice if the Nabob ſhould make any new motions, went into Plaſſey houſe to put on dry cloaths and conſider whether, notwithſtanding the fatigue which his troops had already undergone, he ſhould purſue the blow, by an immediate attack upon the Nabob's camp, or defer it till night, when he judged from paſt experience, the ſucceſs would be certain.

During this interval, information was brought to the colonel that a detachment of our army, with ſome field pieces, was marching towards the beforementioned tank and eminence, at about the diſtance of 600 yards, which had been poſſeſſed by the French, but who abandoned it when the army of Serajah Dowlah, retired to their camp. Colonel Clive expreſſed his ſurprize, that ſuch a ſtep ſhould have been taken without his orders, and immediately haſtened after the detachment, which he reached nearly at the ſame time they arrived at the tank. He now found that this detachment was commanded by major Kilpatrick, whom he at firſt ordered under

under arreſt for ſuch unmilitary ſkill and conduct in an officer of experience, but was pacified by the major's making him an apolgy.

The colonel then ordered major Kilpatrick to the grove, and took the command of the detachment himſelf, reſolving ſince ſuch a ſtep had been taken, not to make any retreat, but rather to bring on a deciſive action; he therefore ordered a reinforcement from the main body in the grove, upon which major Coote with his detachment joined the colonel, who then ſent the king's grenadiers, and a grenadier's company of ſeapoys to lodge themſelves behind a bank that was cloſe upon the enemy's lines; from whence they kept a continual fire with their ſmall arms, as did the detachment at the tank with four pieces of cannon.

In the meantime the enemy's infantry and cavalry advanced towards our ſeveral detached bodies of troops, and endeavoured to bring their heavy artillery to bear, but they met with ſo warm a reception, and loſt ſo many draught oxen and drivers, that they failed in their attempt. When the infantry and cavalry had faced our troops for ſome time, and ſtood a very ſmart cannonading, in which they loſt a great number of men and horſes, it was obſerved they were in ſome confuſion, and that their elephants grew very unruly, the colonel took immediate advantage of this critical moment, and ſent orders to major Coote to attack a large body of horſe and foot, upon a riſing ground, at about the diſtance of 150 yards, and ordered another officer at the ſame time to ſtorm the angle of the camp. Both theſe attacks ſucceeded, the enemy making but faint reſiſtance; major Coote marched

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into their lines and a general rout enſued. Mr. Sheraditch, a midſhipman of the Kent, was dangerouſly wounded as he was eagerly advancing to ſhoot one of the French officers in the Nabob's army. The aſſailants purſued till it was dark, and then halted at Doudpaze, a place about ſix miles diſtance from the field of battle, where they were joined by the reſt of the army from Plaſſey-grove, under major Kilpatrick, who at the commencement of the rout, received orders from the colonel to march. The Nabob's army was computed to conſiſt of 20,000 horſe and 40,000 foot, our loſs was very inconſiderable; but the enemy had about 500 men killed, among whom was Meer Modun, whoſe death was the occaſion of the confuſion juſt mentioned; beſides three elephants and a great many horſes. Their 53 pieces of cannon fell into our hands, with their camp, baggage, elephants, &c..

While our army was purſuing; a large body of horſe was obſerved on our right: after firing a few ſhot at them, a meſſenger arrived with a letter from Meer Jaffier to the colonel, acquainting him that the corps was under his command, and requeſting an interview the next morning. Accordingly the colonel met him the next day, and having congratulated each other on this victory, he declared himſelf ready to perform the articles of the treaty between them. The colonel ſaluted him as Soubahdar of Bengal, Bahar and Orixa, and adviſed him to advance immediately to Muxabadad after Serajah Dowla, promiſing that he would follow to ſupport him with his whole force. The late Nabob reached his capital, which was 20 miles diſ-

tant from the field of battle, a few hours after his defeat. And the next evening, not knowing whom to truſt, or what to do, abandoning himſelf to his fears, on Meer Jaffier's arrival, he diſguiſed himſelf in the habit of a Faquier, and with one or two attendants attempted to make his eſcape. Meer Jaffier immediately entered the palace, where all was anarchy and confuſion; but Meſſieurs Watts and Walſh arrived to pacify the inhabitants, and aſſure them of the colonel's protection: and on the 24th of June colonel Clive himſelf made his public entry into Muxabadad. Meer Jaffier viſited him the next day, and the 29th colonel Clive went to the palace, and in the preſence of the Rajahs and grandees of the court, he ſolemnly handed him to the Maſnud or carpet, and throne of ſtate, where he was unanimouſly ſaluted Nabob, and received the ſubmiſſion of all preſent, he afterwards punctually fulfilled the ſeveral articles ſtipulated in the treaty, and conferred upon the company, the navy, and the army the moſt liberal rewards.

On the 3d of July, Serajah Dowlah, the late Nabob, after wandering about forſaken and almoſt naked, was taken in his way to Patna, near Roſamaul; betrayed it is ſaid by one, whom he had in his proſperity cruelly treated, by cauſing his ears to be cut off: the next day he was brought back to Muxadabad, and in a few hours afterwards, privately put to death, by Meer Jaffier's eldeſt ſon, to whoſe cuſtody he was committed. Thus European pride and avarice ſeconded the cruel maxims of eaſtern policy. His remains were carried in an unmanly triumph on an elephant round the city. He had not quite compleated the twenty-fifth year

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of his age, and but the firſt of his reign; though perhaps he had merited this fate by his ſanguinary diſpoſition, and tyrannical acts, the promoters and perpetrators of this tragedy were equally culpable, as neither of them had a right to ſacrifice an independant prince to their deteſtable ſelfiſhneſs and policy.

The Nabob, after the cuſtom of the Eaſt, ſent preſents to the admiral conſiſting of an elephant, two fine horſes, a rich mooriſh dreſs of gold gingham, with turbans and ſaſhes; and a robe and plume compoſed of diamonds, rubies, ſapphires and emeralds, which though of no great value, made a pompous appearance. Admiral Pocock was alſo complimented with a preſent of the ſame kind. Admiral Watſon received the ambaſſador's on this occaſion with marks of great reſpect; he made a preſent of fine cloth and velvet to each in return; dreſſed his ſhips, diſplaying as many flags of different nations, as could be diſpoſed of on the yards, maſts and rigging of the ſhips; ſaluted them with cannon, and wrote a congratulatory letter to the new Nabob.

I hope this minute deſcription of the battle of Plaſſey and of the amazing revolution, which followed it, will ſatisfy the curioſity of our readers.

To form an idea of the new arrangements made by lord Clive in his preſidency of Bengal, it is proper to inſert here a copy of the letter, which he wrote to the Directors of the Eaſt India company, before he was appointed to the ſupreme civil and military command, that we may compare his regulations with the profeſſions of his

diſintereſted zeal for their ſervice and proſperity.

To the honourable the Court of Directors for affairs of the United Company of merchants of England trading to the Eaſt Indies.

Gentlemen,

"In obedience to your commands, I now tranſmit the purport of what I had the honour to repreſent to you by word of mouth at the laſt court of directors, with ſome other particulars which ſlipped my memory at that time.

Having taken into conſideration your letter ſent me by the ſecretary, as alſo the requeſt of the general court of Proprietors, I think myſelf bound in honour to accept of the charge of your affairs in Bengal, provided you will co-operate with and aſſiſt me in ſuch manner, that I may be able to anſwer the expectations and intentions of the general court.

As an individual, I can have no temptation to undertake this arduous taſk; and nothing but the deſire I have to be uſeful to my country, and to manifeſt my gratitude to this company, could make me embark in this ſervice, attended as it is with ſo many inconveniencies to myſelf and to my family.

I cannot avoid acknowledging, that I quit my native country with regret and diffidence on leaving behind me (as I certainly do) a very divided and diſtracted direction, at a time when unanimity is more than ever requiſite for the carrying into execution ſuch plans as are abſolutely neceſſary to the well-being of the company.

I ſhall

I ſhall now enter into a ſhort diſcuſſion of your political commercial and military affairs in Bengal, without ſearching into the cauſes of the unhappy revolution in favour of Coſſim Ali Khan. I ſhall only remark, that if the ſame plan of politics had been purſued after he was placed on the throne, as that which I had obſerved towards his predeceſſor, he might with great eaſe have remained there to this day, without having it in his power to injure either himſelf or the company, in the manner he has lately done.

Indeed Mr. Vanſittart's ideas in politics have differed ſo widely from mine, that either the one or the other muſt have been totally in the wrong. Soon after Coſſim Ali Khan was raiſed to his new dignity, he was ſuffered to retire to a very great diſtance from his capital, that our influence may be felt and dreaded as little as poſſible by him; he was ſuffered to diſmiſs all thoſe old officers who had any connection with, or dependance upon us; and what was the worſt of all, our faithful friend and ally, Ramnarain the Nabob of Patna, was given up: the doctrine of the ſubah's independency was adopted, and every method was put in practice to confirm him in it. We need not ſeek for other cauſes of the war, for it is now ſome time that things have been carried to ſuch lengths abroad, that either the princes of the country muſt in a great meaſure be dependent on us, or we totally ſo on them.

That the public and continued diſapprobation of Coſſim Ali's advancement to the government, expreſſed by the gentlemen of Calcutta, increaſed the Nabob's jealouſies, is moſt true; and that it was

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the duty of every one, after the revolution was once effected, to concur heartily in every meaſure to ſupport it, cannot be denied. It is likewiſe true, that the encroachments made upon the Nabob's preſcriptive rights, by the governor and council, and the reſt of the ſervants trading in the articles of ſalt, beetle and tobacco, together with the power given by Mr. Vanſittart to ſubject our gomaſtahs or agents, to the juriſdiction and inſpection of the country government, all concurred to haſten and bring on the late troubles; but ſtill the ground work of the whole was the Nabob's independency. It is impoſſible to rely upon the moderation and juſtice of Muſſulmen; ſtrict and impartial juſtice ſhould ever be obſerved, but let that juſtice come from ourſelves. The trading therefore in ſalt, beetle and tobacco, having been one cauſe of the preſent diſputes, I hope theſe articles will be reſtored to the Nabob, and your ſervants abſolutely forbid to trade in them; this will be ſtriking at the root of the evil.

The prohibition of Daſtacks to your junior ſervants will, I hope tend to reſtore that oeconomy which is ſo neceſſary in your ſervice; indeed if ſome method is not thought of, and your council do not heartily co-operate with your governor *to prevent the ſudden acquiſition of fortunes*, which have taken place of late, the company's affairs muſt greatly ſuffer. What power it may be proper to inveſt me with, to remedy theſe great and growing evils, will merit your ſerious conſideration.

As a means to alleviate in ſome meaſure, the diſſatisfaction that that ſuch reſtrictions upon the commer-

commercial advantages of your ſervants may occaſion in them; *it is my full intention not to engage in any kind of trade myſelf*; ſo that they will divide amongſt them what uſed to be the governor's portion of commercial advantages, which was always very conſiderable.

As my experience in military matters has ariſen from many years practice, I hope, what I have to lay before you on this ſubject, will have that attention paid to it, which I ardently wiſh it may for the good of the Company. I would propoſe, that you ſhould always have in Bengal, four, or at leaſt three thouſand Europeans, to conſiſt of three battalions of ſeven hundred each; four companies of artillery, of one hundred each, and five hundred light horſe. Your forces have done great things and gained great honour; but much is ſtill wanting to bring them to that due obedience and ſubordination, which is conſiſtent with the true intereſt of the ſervice, whilſt ſo many of his majeſty's forces were abroad, and ſo few of your own, two or three field officers in your ſervice might anſwer the purpoſe. But now that the kings troops are re-called, you ſhould immediately endeavour to ſupply the deficiency. I would therefore recommend the appointing three field officers to every battalion, a colonel, lieutenant colonel, and major, and the officers I ſhould chuſe to command the battalions, ſhould be major Carnac, captain Richard Smith, and major Preſton. You have already done juſtice to major Carnac's character, by reinſtating him in the command of your forces in Bengal, and by acknowledging his ſervices in the moſt public manner.

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This gentleman will, I flatter myſelf, ſtand high in your eſteem, as brigadier general Caillaud, and will, I hope, have the ſame rank and appointments. The military merit of the other two gentlemen you are likewiſe well acquainted with, having both received from the court marks of approbation for their diſtinguiſhed ſervices, to command your artillery, I would recommend Sir Robert Barker, whoſe abilities in that department have been exceeded by no officer that ever was in your ſervice. Your ſeapoys are already commanded by major Knox, whoſe merits I could wiſh to have rewarded with a lieutenant colonel's commiſſion. Your horſe, when raiſed, ſhould be commanded by a lieutenant-colonel or major. I have very ſtrong reaſons to wiſh this idea of regimenting your troops may take place; for without ſuch a ſubordination I ſhall not be able to enforce your orders for the reduction of your military expences; which have been a conſtant dead weight, and have ſwallowed up your revenues.

I could wiſh that whatever emoluments are unavoidable may fall to theſe few, who by having been long, are high in your ſervice, whether civil or military. Thus will the expence be ſcarce felt by the company, in compariſon to what it is at preſent, when for want of due ſubordination every one thinks himſelf entitled to every advantage: and the juniors in your ſervice will be excited to exert themſelves, from a certain knowledge that application and abilities only can reſtore them to their native country with fortunes *honourably acquired*. Before I leave the ſubject of military affairs, I ſhall take the liberty to recommend to your conſideration my ideas concerning the preſent method

method of levying your troops in England. It is certain at preſent, this branch is very irregularly conducted, little regard is had to the choice of the men; they arrive in India undiſciplined, and in caſe of ſudden emergencies, which may require a number to be immediately diſpatched to India, there are none ready to ſend; for although this has fortunately not been the caſe ſince the concluſion of the peace, the facility of getting men has ariſen from the numbers lately diſmiſſed from his majeſty's ſervice, but the ſame difficulties as ever will very ſhortly commence again, as ſoon as theſe disbanded troops have betaken themſelves to other employments. I would therefore ſuggeſt that the company ſhould apply to his majeſty for permiſſion to maintain two battalions of 500 men each in England, of which the whole or any part, with the proper officers may be ready to be ſhipped at a moment's warning. Juſtice to the character of two officers, who have rendered the company moſt important ſervices, alone induces me to recommend that you ſhould pay the compliment of the command of the battalions to colonel Coote and colonel Ford. Although there may appear ſome difficulties in the executive plan; yet as I do not doubt of the concurrence of the adminiſtration to any propoſals eſſentially neceſſary to the company's intereſt, I imagine they will give them aſſiſtance to ſo ſalutary a meaſure.

The heartburnings and diſputes, which ſeem to have ſpread and over-run your ſettlement of Calcutta, aroſe I much fear originally from your appointment of Mr. Vanſittart to the government of Bengal from another ſettlement, although his pro-

motion was the effect of my recommendation. The appointment therefore of Mr. Spencer from Bombay can only tend to inflame thoſe diſſenſions, and to deſtroy all thoſe advantages, which the company can only expect to reap from harmony and unanimity amongſt their ſervants abroad. The reſignations of Mr. Verelſt, and many others of the ſenior ſervants, which muſt be the conſequence of Mr. Spencer's appointment, will deprive me of thoſe very gentlemen, on whoſe aſſiſtance I depend for re-eſtabliſhing your affairs in Bengal. Mr. Sumner has already come under your conſideration, as a fit perſon to ſucceed Mr. Vanſittart, and on my being propoſed to take upon me the government he deſired to accompany me as ſecond in council. In juſtice to Mr. Sumner's merit, I muſt ſay, that I think him a very capable ſervant of the company, and one who I am perſuaded will co-operate with me to the utmoſt of his abilities for the good of the ſervice, nor would I wiſh him to go abroad with me, were I not convinced I ſhould be able to place him in that degree of confidence and good will with Jaffier Alli Khan, as will certainly be neceſſary in a perſon deſtined to be my ſucceſſor. I hope before I conclude, you will be perſuaded, *that I can have no intereſted views in going abroad* I do not mean to reflect on thoſe who thought proper to reward and diſtinguiſh Mr. Vanſittart ſo remarkably, by adding to the uſual allowances of the governor two and a half per cent. upon the company's territorial poſſeſſions, which made the whole of his appointments more than 20,000l. a year. I ſhall only ſay, I think ſuch appointments too great a burthen on the company's eſtate;

eſtate; and leave it to you, gentlemen, to make me whatever allowance you may think conſiſtent with my ſtation." (He concludes by what I have mentioned before relative to his Jagheer, &c.)

I have the honour to be
Berkley Square, Gentlemen,
27th April, 1764. Your moſt obedient
Humb. ſervant.
(Signed) Clive."

The editor deſirous, that no civil or military tranſactions in India, which preceded lord Clive's late adminiſtration in Bengal or happened in that period, ſhould be hidden from the knowledge of his readers, has the happineſs to be able to ſupply them with all the articles of authentic intelligence they may require, in regard to the campaigns of the commanders in Indoſtan, ſince the late peace. As they have never been publiſhed, he flatters himſelf to add novelty to inſtruction, and leaſt his veracity ſhould be impeached, he appeals to all the officers who ſerved under major Adams, brigadier general Carnac, colonel Munro and colonel Smith, as the following narrative is exactly taken from the orderly book of theſe reſpective commanders, which has, by a lucky chance fallen into the hands of the author.

The Campaign of Major Adams.

This brave, active and ſkilful officer, whoſe long ſervices and an unſpotted military character had raiſed to the command of the Eaſt India company's forces, having beat the enemy in the field of

Gurria, and forced their entrenchments at Woodennulla, received intelligence on his arrival at Calgong, that Coſſim Alli Cawn, had ſent a large detachment from his army, and were in their march by the Chickia paſs, to penetrate through the Beerboone into the Burdevan province. In conſequence of this information, major Adams on the 19th of September 1763, iſſued out the following orders.

" Captain Witchcot with two ſubalterns and thirty men of his troop, with thirty of Mirza Huſſen Beg's are to march to-morrow morning and join the detachment of the Beerboone province."

" It is alſo ordered by major Adams that major Carnac do hold himſelf in readineſs to march and take the command of the detachment in the Beerboone province.

The clearneſs, preciſion and conſtancy of the major's orders, were the dictates of his foreſight and judgment.

On the firſt of October the army encamped at Barampore near Mongheer batteries, which had been raiſed immediately againſt that fort. It was the next day delivered up by the enemy, and converted by major Adams into an hoſpital, for the ſick who were diſembarked from the boats, under the command of captain Wedderburn. The humane and gallant commander, who knew how to value the lives of thoſe, he thought an honour to lead to glory, having procured in Mongheer fort a comfortable aſſylum for the officers and ſoldiers who were not able to march with the army, ordered on the 13th, that " as ſoon as all the heavy artillery and ſtores ſhould be ſhipped for Patna, the

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three companies of captain Maclean's battalion, were to go on board the boats as a guard to convey them."

Captain Wedderburn who commanded a company of volunteers, inhabitants of the town of Calcutta, had been entruſted with the charge of a number of armed boats, deſigned to protect the hoſpital, the ſtore and baggage boats. He was ordered to make all the expedition he could to Patna, with the boats under his command, on board of which were the battering cannon, ſtore and the gentlemens baggage. Mr. Hugins, engineer, having been directed to repair immediately the breach that had been made in Mongheer fort, the moſt judicious meaſures were taken, to prevent any obſtruction, which the army was likely to meet on their march to Patna. Major Adams had ſent on the 11th, captain Stibbert forward with one hundred Europeans, four guns, and two battalions of ſeapoys to throw a bridge over Shinga-nulla; and in the mean time people were ſent to repair the bridge at Dura-nulla, that had been cut by the enemy to retard our march.

We marched the 15th of October and arrived the 28th at Jaffier Cawn's gardens, within a ſmall diſtance from Patna. After a proper ſurvey had been taken of the place, major Knox, the quarter-maſter general, an officer of diſtinguiſhed abilities in tacticks, and of approved ſkill in military architecture, to which he had been brought up in Woolwich ſchool, coincided in opinion with the engineers to raiſe our batteries near the river ſide, and to make a breach by the north north-eaſt baſtion, where the houſes of the ſuburbs were al-

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moſt contiguous to the walls of the fort. In conſequence of this determination, our engineers began to erect a battery, without interruption from the beſieged, but before it was compleatly finiſhed, a large body of the enemy's beſt ſeapoys, made a ſally on the 31ſt of October, from the north-eaſt water gate. Having crept along the banks of the river and got amongſt the houſes unperceived, they ſurpriſed the party of ſeapoys that was lodged in the batteries. As this important poſt had been committed to an officer, whoſe military knowledge and vigilance ought to have guarded him againſt any ſurpriſe; it was an unpardonable overſight, luckily repaired by the ſpontaneous intrepidity of the Engliſh ſeapoys, who behaved like diſciplined veterans. But the ſtruggle was unequal, and the ſuperiority of numbers being an over match for the valour of the aſſailed, the enemy ſucceeded in blowing up our magazine, and ſpiked up one of our guns. The firing of muſquetry alarmed captain Smith's battalion of ſeapoys, of which the guard in the battery was a part. They immediately got under arms, marched to the aſſiſtance of their companions, drove the enemy from the battery, and followed them to the very gate from whence they had ſallied forth. They were ordered back by major Knox, who commanded at the battery, which was reinforced by captain Swinton's battalion.

The enemy made a new attempt on our battery, and were driven again into the fort by the gallant ſeapoys, againſt whom an unſucceſsful ſally was made in their retreat to the battery. Three times were the aſſailants repulſed with equal advantage

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and intrepidity, and our ſeapoys in their impetuous fury purſuing the enemy to the very gates of the fort, were ſo daring that ſome of them went in to the place without thinking on the danger of their raſhneſs. During theſe repeated attacks and repulſes, the king's and company's grenadiers were got ready. It had been debated in a council of war, whether the preſent juncture, when the enemy were not yet recovered from their fears and their confuſion, was not the moſt favourable to ſtorm the place by entering at the gate, from which the enemy had ſallied forth. The ſpirited conduct of the ſeapoys and their preſent warlike ardour, ſeemed to countenance this opinion; however, it was thought more prudent to wait till the breach was made practicable. This reſolution was perhaps the moſt judicious, as the enemy had ſhewn that day an extraordinary courage and activity. Senſible no doubt that Patna was the laſt ſtake of their power and ſecurity, as the loſs of this important place would deprive them of the only tenable fortreſs they were likely to hold, and oblige them to abandon the country after the ſurrender of their laſt aſſylum.

During the conſultation, the walls of Patna were covered with armed men, who ſeemed prepared to make a vigorous defence. They kept up a continual fire againſt our people, with their cannon and with their muſketry, in the midſt of which the undaunted bravery of our troops appeared moſt conſpicuous, and threw a damp upon the ardour of the enemy, in ſhewing them what they might expect on a future day. Captain Swinton, captain Goddard and ſeveral officers were wounded, and about

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one hundred men, including the ſerjeants of both battalions were killed and wounded in the two attacks. Captain Swinton ſuffered the moſt from the wound he had received in the hollow of the hand, and his own neglect occaſioned afterwards the loſs of his arm, which on the ſymptoms of a mortification, was cut off above the elbow. As this gentleman had been brought up to phyſic, he might have prevented by timely care the conſequences of this accident.

In the mean while our operations were carried on with an unrelenting vigour and perſeverance, we erected another battery and made a breach to the ſouthward by the river ſide; ſcaling ladders were prepared, as we were in doubt of getting in at one of the breaches without this aſſiſtance.

The fifth of November a ſtrong party, which conſiſted of the king's grenadiers commanded by captain Champion, another new company of grenadiers commanded by captain Moran, and five grenadiers companies of ſeapoys commanded by five lieutenants, under the direction of captain Trevanion, the whole ſubordinate to major Sherlock, who had the firſt command in the batteries. The ſtorming party marched from them about three quarters of an hour before day. Captain Irwin with all the European grenadiers and their ſcaling ladders was to enter at the ſouthern breach, but he found the ditch ſo full of water, that he could not ford it. As it was not poſſible to overcome this difficulty, he immediately ordered his grenadiers to throw down their ladders, and to wheel to the right; he entered at the other breach with the ſeapoys accompanied with captain Trevanion, lieutenants

tenants Duffield and Nicol the other officers of the corps. There was but one man killed in going up. The battery close to the right of the breach fired their cannon several times upon the rear of their storming party; captain Irwin led his grenadiers from the breach to the right over the walls of the battery; lieutenant Nicol was the other officer engaged in this hazardous enterprize. Captain Irwin ordered his men not to fire on those in the battery, but to beat them out with bricks; this was done in a moment, and when a sufficient number of soldiers were lodged in the battery, the captain advanced on a road near the walls towards the east-gate; just before we reached it the enemy made a stand. The danger and difficulty was to proceed through a door where scarcely two could go a-breast; this door which led to an opening contiguous to the east-gate, might be about forty yards, the intermediate space was a kind of square with a few thatched houses. Here the gallant captain Irwin, whose military conduct deserved the highest commendation, was mortally wounded, his thigh-bone being broke into pieces with a shot and a rocket. Captain Champion was also wounded and came back limping, supported by a grenadier, at the very time lieutenant Nicol was entering the door. This gentleman, whose skill and bravery had been tried on divers occasions, asked the captain if he was wounded; he answered in the affirmative, and expressing his apprehensions about the men, whom, he said, were without an officer; Mr. Nicol sensible that the least delay might be attended with dangerous consequences, asked no more questions, and following the impulse of courage and judgment,

marched on with his ſeapoys. When he got into the opening betwixt the two doors, he found the men in a ſtate of ſuſpence and inactivity, for want of an officer to lead them; they were ſeeking for a place where the enemy's fire could not touch them. Lieutenant Nicol, like an experienced commander, immediately formed the men into platoons, with the aſſiſtance of lieutenant Crown, advanced in excellent order with recovered arms, fired a platoon into the opening, which led to the Eaſt-gate, and puſhed through with an amazing conduct and reſolution. He ordered the Eaſt-gate to be open to let in our army, and on his marching along the walls, reſigned his command to lieutenant Scotland his ſenior officer. But he had not proceeded twenty yards farther before he was wounded. Mr. Nicol continued his march in the ſame order and celerity in order to get poſſeſſion of a baſtion called Burra-multa. As this poſt was ſtrongly guarded, the enemy ſeemed reſolved to defend it; they had turned round a large piece of cannon, which we afterwards found was loaded with grape ſhot. Several of the men having expended all their cartridges called out, they had no ammunition. Mr. Nicol formed them again into platoons, ordered the Havildars to look into the men's cartouch-boxes, as they were marching, and diſpatched a ſerjeant for ammunition. The enemy perceiving that neither their muſketry nor the ſhow of their cannon could interrupt our march, which was continued with ſtill more order and rapidity, were ſtruck with a pannick, and in their conſternation forgot to fire their cannon. Captain Trevanion came up at this time, and took the command

mand from Mr. Nicol, who performed all parts of this perilous ſervice whilſt at the head of the ſeapoys, with equal ſucceſs and reputation. The enemy ran from the baſtion as faſt as they could to the ſouth-eaſt gate. Captain Trevanion took poſſeſſion of the Burra-Multa, and ſoon after ſent lieutenant Skinner with a party to poſſeſs themſelves of the ſouth weſt gate.

Major Adams entered with the whole army at the Eaſt-gate, and marching ſtraight through the city of Patna, halted the men a little beyond the Weſt gate, where he gave them a dram and a biſcuit.

Captain Trevanion ſeeing the fort was our own, ſent Mr. Nicoll who was adjutant-general to the ſeapoys, with a ſmall party of them, to collect all the ſtraggling men of that corps together, to prevent all the plunder and outrages of a rapacious ſoldiery, in obliging them to join major Adams, the commander in chief.

The reduction of this important place reflects immortal honour upon the conduct of the officers, and the valour of the ſoldiers, who made this acquiſition. The greateſt loſs was that mentioned before in the ſucceeding attacks; captain Galliez was ſhot through the body, lieutenant Scotland through the cheek, and ſome others wounded. The enemy's loſs was ſuppoſed to be above three hundred, who were found killed within the walls of Patna. After the troops had been a little refreſhed, major Adams appointed a proper garriſon for Patna, the command of which was given to major Sherlock.

Major Adams marched immediately after this conqueſt with the army and encamped at Bankipoore. On the 10th of November captain Irwin died of his wounds juſtly regretted by his acquaintances and lamented by his friends. The death of this officer was a real loſs to the company. They had raiſed him to the rank of a major in the ſervice as a reward for his gallant actions; but he did not live to enjoy this honourable ſtation.

Coſſim Ally Cawn had in the city of Patna and its vicinity about thirty thouſand men, but the company was in poſſeſſion of all his fortified places except Rotaſgur, where he kept his treaſure. He marched with his army towards Dowdinagur: the major having got every thing in order, marched on the 13th in the preſence of the fugitive Nabob. The 19th the army encamped at Dowdnagur, where major Adams received information that Coſſim Alli Cawn, not truſting to the ſtrong fortreſs of Rotaſgur, for the protection of his treaſure had ſent for it, and that ſeveral camels loaded with this accumulated wealth, were on their march to Saſſeram. The major detached captain Smith with his battalion and two ſix pounders to endeavour to intercept them. But they had gained a march upon the captain, who could not come up with them. The 23d the army croſſed the river Soane, and on the fifth of December encamped on the banks of the river Caramnaſſa, which ſerves as boundaries to the Nabobſhip of Bengal to the Weſt. The other ſide of the river is the country of the Rajah Bulwanſing, a tributary prince to Sujah al Dowlah.

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The indefatigable major Knox, who had always given the beſt intelligence of the country where he had the honour to command, having ſurveyed a vaſt tract of unknown territories, tranſmitted his plans to the governor, who conveyed them to the court of directors, that they might obtain ſome knowledge of a province, where they carried on an extenſive trade, and kept a reſpectable body of men for its protection. Beſides a general cannot be too well acquainted with the face of a country where he leads an army; he ſhould know where he can encamp to advantage, where he can be ſupplied with water and proviſions; if the country he is to go through is open, or woody, flat or mountainous, where the rivers are fordable, or have bridges built over them. He is then ſure not to be embarraſſed when he takes the field, and not to be obſtructed on his march by unforeſeen accidents. Major Knox was always aſſiduous in making himſelf maſter of this uſeful knowledge. With this view, when he commanded in the province of Midnapore, from the end of the year 1761, to July 1763, the war againſt Coſſim Ally Cawn, required the exertion of his abilities in the field. He employed Mr. Nicol an active officer under his command to ſurvey the province. Mr. Nicol went as far as Balaſore; and when this officer commanded a detachment of ſeapoys at Beercool towards the end of the year 1762, to prevent the French ſhips that were cruizing in the bay from being ſupplied with wood, water, and proviſions from the towns and villages on the Piply river, he ſurveyed the mouth of it, according to major Knox's

Knox's directions, who repoſed a great confidence in his zeal and aſſiduity.

This glorious campaign being finiſhed, major Knox availed himſelf of the opportunity the ſuſpenſion of hoſtilities gave him, to make himſelf more particularly acquainted with the kingdom of Bengal. He then recommended ſtrongly to major Adams, lieutenant Nicol, as a proper perſon to ſurvey the country. Accordingly on the 8th of December, the major iſſued out his orders to lieutenant Nicol to hold himſelf in readineſs to go and viſit the public roads between the river Caramnaſſa and Calcutta. He executed his commiſſion to the great ſatisfaction of his commanding officers, and the manifeſt advantage of the military ſervice.

The 9th of December major Adams delivered up the command of the army to major Knox, and ſet off for Calcutta. Major Knox who was ſick at the beginning of the campaign, with an unexampled zeal and fortitude, had gone through all the toils and fatigues of the field, in a torrid climate, without once going into ſick quarters. Finding himſelf worſe, his active ſpirit was forced to give way to his impaired conſtitution.

It is impoſſible to have an exact idea of the meaſures taken by lord Clive, relative to the king of Dehly, and the princes his turbulent vaſſals, without mentioning the late revolutions of the Mogul empire, in which the Eaſt India company acted a principal part.

Achmed Abdalla, a native of Candahar, chief of the nation called Durannies, in the confuſion that enſued Neder's death, had uſurped all the northern provinces ceded to Perſia by Mahomed Shah

Shah, and at laſt grew very powerful. He had invaded Indoſtan, and fought ſeveral battles with the Marattas, who aſpired to the ſway of placing a king on the throne of Dehly. Achmed Abdalla on his ſecond invaſion gave them a total overthrow, on the 8th of February 1760; but he was pleaſed to confirm the appointment made by the Marattas, of the young Jewan Buckt to the throne, now circumſcribed in authority to the provinces of Dehly; and after ſettling the annual tribute to be paid by the young nominal king, he put him under the guardianſhip of Rohilla, one of his creatures. In the meanwhile Ali Gohar of the line of Tamerlane, father of Jewan Buckt, had found means to eſcape from the priſon in which he and ſeveral of his brothers had been born at Dehly; and it was at laſt his good fortune to fall into the hands of the Engliſh Eaſt India company, and after having experienced all the viciſſitudes of fortune, the Engliſh company condeſcended to create him their Grand Mogul. He had in his diſtreſs ſought for an aſylum at the court of Sujah al Dowlah Suhbalder of Oude, who alſo preferring the independence which the confuſion of the empire had enabled him to aſſume, made the prince Ali Gohar a ſmall preſent, and deſired him to quit his dominions. Sujah al Dowlah was the ſame prince who in 1764, was conquered and driven out of his dominions by the Engliſh company, ſometime before the arrival of lord Clive at Calcutta, by whom he was afterwards reſtored.

The wandering prince next took refuge with Mahomed Kuli Khan Nabob of Illahabad, with whom he concerted a plan for invading the province

vince of Bengal, having before obtained from Alum Gheer his father, a grant of that ſubahſhip.

Accordingly an army of deſperate adventurers and diſſaffected Zemindars being collected together, they marched from Illahabad towards Bengal, to take poſſeſſion of thoſe provinces which in fact the Engliſh Eaſt India Company governor, then colonel Clive, had taken from the Nabob Serajah al Dowlah, and conferred on Meer Jaffier, one of his officers.

The prince was very unſucceſsful in this expedition, and the Engliſh in Bengal held him in ſuch contempt, that colonel Clive at the requeſt of his new made ſubhadar, marched to puniſh thoſe Rajahs who had joined him. The prince repreſented to the colonel, "that he had no intention againſt Meer Jaffier's life or government, that all he aimed at was an army to make head againſt the viſier, and that if it pleaſed God to favour his cauſe, the colonel might command any advantages for the company or himſelf. Col. Clive having communicated this to the Nabob's ſon and miniſter's it was unanimouſly agreed, that it would be dangerous to have a prince of the blood in any of the provinces. The colonel therefore ſent back the meſſenger with a reſpectful letter and a preſent of above one thouſand pounds ſterling; which behaviour ſo charmed the prince, that he ſent word to colonel Clive he would force himſelf under his protection, and dare him to deliver him up; but the colonel was obliged to anſwer, that he acted under the ſubaldar Jaffier Alli Khan's orders, and would therefore by no means adviſe him to put himſelf in his power. Whereupon the prince was obliged to ſeek

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for ſome other refuge; and colonel Clive, to deter the neighbouring princes from any future hoſtilities in the province of Bengal, thought fit to ſhew his reſentment to Sujah al Dowlah, Nabob of Oude, who had aſſiſted the prince by repreſenting to him, that as he could not but know the inviolable friendſhips ſubſiſting between him and Meer Jaffier, he wondered he ſhould preſume to ſend forces into his country; that if he ſtill perſiſted in ſentiments of enmity, he ought to own it frankly; in which caſe he would march up after the rains, and appeal to the deciſion of the ſword.

It was not convenient to the Engliſh in Bengal at this time to acknowledge the authority of this prince. Things continued quiet in Bengal till the year 1760, that the prince renewed his attempt on this province, and though they always proved unſucceſsful, yet they kept the country in trouble and fermentation for near three years; during which time he offered to the Engliſh carte-blanche, as appears from the following extract of a letter, from governor Holwell, who ſucceeded colonel Clive in Bengal, directed to major Caillard, who had then the command of the army. "The ſituation of the prince at preſent is ſuch, that I am ſure he would readily and thankfully hearken to an overture from us, and without heſitation grant a firmeur, appointing the company perpetual Subahdars of the province. His two firmeurs to me, offered Carte-blanche for the company; and I dare ſay that to you was of the ſame tenor." At laſt he was reduced to ſuch a complicated diſtreſs, that on the eighth of February 1761, he was obliged to ſurrender himſelf to the commander of the Bri-

tiſh forces, major Carnac and Guych in the province of Bahar. During his intercourſe with the Engliſh, having received advices from Delhi of the aſſaſſination of his father Allum Gheer, he made them the moſt ſeducing offers to aſſiſt him in his favourite ſcheme of obtaining the throne of Delhi; but finding that the Engliſh would do nothing for him, except the farce of proclaiming him emperor at Patna, he was obliged to ſeek ſome other refuge; therefore he quitted the Bahare province in June 1761. He afterwards applied again for protection to the Nabob Sujah al Dowlah, who upon this ſecond viſit confined him, and kept him a cloſe priſoner, making the ſame tool of him as Gazi-al-Dean the Marattas and Abdallah had done before of the other princes of the blood.

About the end of the year 1763, the Engliſh having expelled Coſſim Alli Khan from Bengal, that Nabob had retired with his treaſure, and ſome of his adherents into the dominions of Sujah al Dowlah, whom he at length perſuaded to join him in an attempt to recover his Subahſhip. Accordingly in the month of February 1764, Sujah al Dowlah came down with a conſiderable force into the province of Bahar, and brought the prince Ali Gohor with him • the Engliſh army then under the command of major Hector Munro, an officer of diſtinguiſhed merit, met them at Buxar, and on the 23d of October 1764, after a very obſtinate battle, defeated and purſued Sujah al Dowlah into his own dominions. In his flight he left the prince behind him, who once more threw himſelf on the Engliſh for protection.

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From this period, the Engliſh Eaſt-India company became poſſeſſed of this prince, and availed themſelves of the opportunity to make a proper uſe of him. Having at this time no friends upon whom he could rely even for perſonal ſafety, he thought himſelf happy to have fallen into the hands of his new guardians, who treated him in every reſpect, with more kindneſs than the inhoſpitable princes who had before poſſeſſion of him; the Engliſh allowed him, while he continued in their camp, a certain ſum for his daily ſubſiſtence. From this period he engaged the pompous title of Emperor, grand Mogul, Shah Allum the invincible or king of the world. The Engliſh were ſucceſsful in totally expelling the Nabob Sujah al Dowlah from his dominions; and while in ſuſpence about the diſpoſal of this country, our grand Mogul ſent a petition to the preſident and council at Bengal, which was tranſmitted to them by major Keater Chanis. Dated from the camp at Banares, the 22d of November 1764. The following is an exact tranſlation of it.

If this country is to be kept, put me in poſſeſſion of it, and leave a ſmall detachment of the troops with me; to ſhew that I am protected by the Engliſh and they ſhall be at my expence: that if any enemy comes at any time againſt me, I will make ſuch connections in the country, that with my own troops, and the aforementioned ſmall detachment, will defend the country without any farther aſſiſtance from the Engliſh; and I will pay them of the revenues of the country what ſums they ſhall demand yearly. If the Engliſh will contrary to their own intereſt, make peace with the Vizar

Sujah al Dowlah, I will go to Delhi ; for I cannot think of returning again into the hands of a man who has uſed me ſo ill. Whilſt Sujah al Dowlah had the Mogul in his poſſeſſion, he was created Vizier by the captive prince. I have no friends, continued he, I depend on more than the Engliſh ; their former behaviour to me will make me ever reſpect and regard them : now is their time to be in poſſeſſion of a country abounding with riches and treaſure. I ſhall be ſatisfied with whatever ſhare they pleaſe of it. The Rohallas were always enemies to the imperious Vizier ; they are all my friends."

The preſident and council of Calcutta having conſidered the Emperor's petition, reſolved to keep a part of Sujah al Dowlah's dominions for the uſe of the Eaſt-India company, and put his majeſty in poſſeſſion of all the reſt. Accordingly a paper was drawn up dated December 1761, and ſent up to major Hector Munro, commander in chief of the army, with orders for him to get it executed by the Mogul. The tranſlative of this paper from the Perſian is as follows :

" In conſideration of the aſſiſtance and fidelity of the Engliſh company, which has freed us from the inconveniencies we laboured under, and ſtrengthened the foundations of the empire, which God has given us, we have been graciouſly pleaſed to grant to the Engliſh company our royal favours, according to the following articles, which ſhall remain firm both at preſent and in future.

As the Engliſh company have been put to a great expence, and their affairs expoſed to danger by the war with the Nabob Sujah al Dowlah, unjuſtly

juſtly and contrary to our royal pleaſure, waged againſt them, we have therefore aſſigned to them the country of Ghazipoza, and the reſt of the Zemindary of Bulwantſing, belonging to the Nizamut of the nabob Sujah al Dowlah, and the regulation and government thereof we have given to their diſpoſal, in the ſame manner as it was in the nabob Sujah al Dowlah's; the aforeſaid Rajah having ſettled terms with the chiefs of the Engliſh company, is according thereto to pay the revenues to the company; and the account ſhall not belong to the books of the royal revenue, but ſhall be expunged from them. The army of the Engliſh company having joined our ſtandard, ſhall put us in poſſeſſion of Illahabad, and the reſt of the countries belonging to the Nizamul of the Nabob Sujah al Dowlah, and the revenues ſhall be in our entire management and diſpoſal.

As the Engliſh company will be at a farther expence in putting us in poſſeſſion of Illahabad, and the reſt of the Nizumal of the Nabob Sujah al Dowlah, we will therefore as we get poſſeſſion, grant to them out of our treaſury, ſuch a proportion of the revenues as the exigencies of our affairs will admit of: and when we are put in full poſſeſſion, we will reimburſe the whole expences of the company in this buſineſs, from the time of their joining our royal ſtandard.

The Mogul circumſtanced as he was, readily agreed to the contents of this paper; and accordingly, on the 29th of December 1764, his imperial firmeur was iſſued confirming the ſame. In conſequence of this agreement, the Mogul was put in poſſeſſion of Illahabad, and all the ſubahſhip of Oude

Oude, excepting the zemindary of Bulwantzing, where a factory was eſtabliſhed by the governor and council at Banary, the principal city of this territory, for the collection of the revenues, which were fixed at twenty lacks, or about 250,000 l. ſterling *per annum*. Before the advices of this proſperous ſtate of the company's affairs could be received in England, the Eaſt India company were greatly alarmed, and had appointed lord Clive as governor and commander in chief, together with a ſelect committee, who were ſent from England, furniſhed with ample powers to purſue whatever means they ſhould think proper, to eſtabliſh the peace and tranquility of Bengal. Upon his lordſhip's arrival on the 3d of May 1765, at Calcutta, he actually found the general affairs of the company, and of the ſettlements at Bengal in particular, in a more flouriſhing ſtate than they had ever been known; in fact, there was nothing to do in the general out-lines of government, for him and his committee, from which act his reputation and juſt emolument could be raiſed, unleſs they cut out work for themſelves: they therefore reſolved to aboliſh the treaties then ſubſiſting, which had been ſolemnly entered into only two months before, and to model the commercial as well as political affairs of the company, upon an entire new plan. The company will ever have reaſon to lament their motives for this alteration. He delivered up the command of the army to captain Jennings of the artillery, on the 2d of January 1764, and immediately ſet out for Patna.

Mr. Nicol having ſurveyed the Budjapore province, with the diligence and exactneſs peculiar to that

that truſty officer, found to his great ſorrow, major Knox very ill on his arrival at Patna. The major ordered him two hundred ſeapoys of captain Campbell's battalion, and mentioned him as a proper officer to the Nabob Jaffier Ali Cawn, who agreed to ſend ſeventy horſe under his command. With this detachment lieutenant Nicol was to proceed and take a view of the Chrakre paſs, which was not exactly known to the military officers of the company. The roads in the Beerboone province as far as Bendowen and Calcutta, were to be comprehended in this ſurvey: but the malady of major Knox having obliged lieutenant Nicol to defer his journey, this uſeful expedition was laid aſide after the death of the major, which happened at this juncture. He was undoubtedly one of the beſt field officers the company ever had, and few are ſo eminent in all the branches of the military profeſſion.

The editor having been obliged to poſtpone mentioning the glorious campaign of major Adams, in the year 1763, for want of an exact information, has in juſtice to the merit of that officer, inſerted here a true narrative of it.

Major Adams with the troops under his command marched from Ghirolty the fifth of July, by order of the governor and council of Calcutta; to dethrone Coſſim Ali Cawn, and to replace Meer Jaffier Alli Cawn to the Nabobſhip of Bengal. He was on the 10th of July proclaimed Soubah of Bengal, Bahar, and Orixa, and a ſalute of one and twenty guns was fired on the honour of the day.

The 19th of July the army encamped at Cutwa. The ſame day a large body of the enemy's horſe attacked

attacked a detachment of our troops under the command of captain Long of the 84th regiment. Tucky Ali Cawn the beſt general of Coſſim's army, was killed in the beginning of the engagement, which would otherwiſe have been more bloody and more obſtinate than it was. Our detachment obliged the enemy to retire, but this advantage was dearly purchaſed by the laws of many men killed and wounded, beſides the lieutenants Smith and Delaſare of the cavalry, who loſt their lives in the combat.

Here they were in ſight of Plaſſey-houſe, and to honour this ſkirmiſh, as it had been done on a former occaſion, the parole given out was, Clive and counterſign Plaſſey. It was the fortune of the Engliſh to be again ſucceſsful in this plain, in aſſerting the cauſe of Meer Jaffier Cawn.

The moſt remarkable engagement that ever happened in India, or perhaps in any other country was that of lieutenant Glyn, who had under his command five companies of ſeapoys and a ſmall gun. He was on his march from Burdewan to join the army, and had under his charge two lacks of rupees. On the 17th of July, ſeventeen thouſand of the enemy's horſe attacked him with the moſt impetuous fury; the affair was bloody and diſputed by lieutenant Glyn and his ſeapoys, with an incredible perſeverance and intrepidity. Three times did the enemy take from him his guns and treaſure, and as often did he re-take them. At laſt the bravery of his ſeapoys prevailed, and he obliged the enemy to retreat. After he had halted a ſhort time to refreſh his troops, he made a forced

march

march attacked Cutwa Fort, took it and drove the enemy out of the town, acroſs the Coſſembazar river. If we conſider all the circumſtances of this deſperate encounter, ſeventeen thouſand of a rapacious ſoldiery ſtimulated by the proſpect of a conſiderable booty, and enraged to ſee a handful of men, ſcratch from them this valuable acquiſition, ſecure it againſt the moſt powerful efforts, force them to retreat with diſgrace and diſappointment, take a fort and drive the enemy beyond a river, after this unparalleled exploit, as perhaps equal to any of theſe great atchivements of the Greeks magnified by Xenophan.

July 23d captain Campbell, was ordered to raiſe a battalion of ſeapoys with all poſſible expedition, and on the 25th, the army marched through the city Moorſhadabad and encamped at Saddat-bay. The Nabob Jaffier Ali Cawn, reſtored by the ſame European power, which had vanquiſhed, humbled and dethroned him, once more, return triumphant as his competetor into his capital. A bridge was thrown over Luncar Nulla, and the army croſſed it the firſt of Auguſt; the 2d the army marched from Bagatta to Ghireah, and engaged the enemy's whole army; they took ſeveral pieces of our cannon during the engagement, which were re-taken with activity. Three of the enemy's battalions changed captain Stilbert's battalion of ſeapoys alternately, as one was beat, another of the enemy's renewed the attack. Major Carnac was ſent with two pieces of cannon, to captain Stilbert's aſſiſtance, for which, major Adams, with more generoſity than was due to his bare performance of his duty, mentioned him to the board

of Calcutta, and Mr. Vanſittart, who was rather partial to the major's military merit, made ſtill a more honourable mention of Mr. Carnac to the court of directors, than ſuch a common exertion of the major's courage deſerved. The enemy had in the field, about forty thouſand troops; many of their ſeapoys were well armed and diſciplined after the European manner. The company's forces did not amount to above five thouſand men. The number of the Engliſh ſeapoys killed and wounded was very conſiderable, but few Europeans ſuffered in this action. The valiant, active, and ſpiritted lieutenant Glyn, aid de camp to major Adams, and lieutenant Furlong, and enſign Andrews of the company's 84th regiment, troops were amongſt the ſlain; and lieutenant Keller of the artillery, fell a victim to the furies of the field and the viciſſitudes of the climate. Among the wounded were captain Stilbert, in ſeven or eight different places, and enſign Anming who was cut and maimed in a ſhocking manner.

Our army remained on the field of battle, all the ſecond and third of Auguſt, and on the fourth marched to Aurangabad, where divine ſervice was performed to return thanks to the god of hoſts for our late great ſucceſs, and after ſervice was ended, a ſalute of twenty one guns was fired. It was not poſſible to aſcertain the loſs of the enemy, which was very great, they loſt ſeveral pieces of cannon in this engagement after the defeat of Ghireah, they retreated to Wadin Nullah, where they had thrown up a ſtrong work. They had a high hill to their right, round the top of which breaſt works were thrown up, the river Ganges was on their

left

left; from the hill to the river they had thrown up a ſtrong rampart, on which were mounted ſeveral pieces of cannon. At a little diſtance from the river was a large gate, and in front of the rampart a deep broad ditch full of water; from the foot of the hill to the right of the enemy ran a deep moraſs in a perpendicular line to their rampart; thro' the middle of the moraſs ran a little rivulet, this lay in front of a ridge of hills, which went off from the higheſt to their right in a perpendicular line.

On the 11th the army encamped at Pulkepoon, and major Adams immediately concerted meaſures to drive the enemy from this ſtrong hold, in raiſing batteries againſt the place. During the ſiege they once made an attempt on them, and at another time upon the rear of the line, but met with ſo warm a reception, that they deſiſted from acting offenſively. The fifth of September we ſtormed the enemy's entrenchments: about an hour before day, captain Irwin with his and other companies of grenadiers, ſupported by battalions of ſeapoys, attacked the hill. A Harcamal and ſeapoy officer undertook to conduct him through the march, which they did with great difficulty; the ſoldiers were obliged at times to carry their arms and ammunition upon their heads to keep them from the water. They got over without being perceived by the enemy, who indulged themſelves in a falſe ſecurity, as they thought it impracticable to go thro' the marſh. Captain Irwin climbed up the hill as faſt as poſſible. The enemy laid on their little matts in a profound ſleep on each ſide of him, as he was marching up. He gave ſtrict orders to his men not to fire upon the enemy; but inſtead of

giving the alarm, to receive them upon their bayonets. Before the captain had reached the top of the hill, the enemy's guard gave the alarm. This was the prelude of a bloody ſcene; the enemy betook themſelves to the breaſt work, which formed a circle round the top, but they were ſoon forced from this entrenchment. Captain Miran who commanded the party in the batteries, marched out and entered at a breach, which would admit only one at a time, it had been made with our cannon by the ſide of the gate. Captain Irwin marched down the hill to the right, and captain Miran to the left, until they met a great number of the enemy, were devoured in a ſort of lake formed from the marſh, and there were about ſeventy people laying dead on a ſtone bridge, in the rear of the gate of the rampart, which was over wood in Nulla. This was owing to a guard of the enemy's being placed beyond the bridge, with orders not to let any of their own people paſs, but to keep them at the works, ſo that thoſe that ran from the work were for a little time between two fires. In this perilous attack captain Broadbrook was killed, and lieutenant Hampton wounded, otherwiſe our loſs was inconſiderable: the enemy ſuffered greatly, but we reaped more however than real advantage from this daring exploit. The army marched the next day to a moſque beyond Rajamaul, and diſpoſed of the horſes and camels taken from the enemy.

The 8th of September we continued our march and left all the ſick in the moſque at Ramajaul, under proper perſons.

Major Adams, after finiſhing the glorious campaign of 1763, died at Calcutta in his way to his native

native country. His ſervices, his military knowledge, his ſocial virtues made him worthy in every reſpect to command ſoldiers.

It was this new ſyſtem of government, and the conſequences of it, which laid the foundation of all the inquiries and publications that have ſince laid open the affairs of the company, and forced the Engliſh legiſlature to interfere its authority and ſhew its juſtice in wreſting from the hands of the preſidencies in Indoſtan, a power they had abuſed in open violation of the laws of nations and the rights of Engliſhmen.

Among the alterations determined upon, the Mogul was to be deprived of the Nizemut of the Nabob Sujah al Dowlah, with which he had already been inveſted by ſolemn treaty, and the company was to give up the zemindary of Bulwantzing, all of which were to be reſtored to the ſaid Nabob, againſt whoſe wealth, as Mr. Dow juſtly obſerves, the virtue of ſome of our revolutions was by no means proof, upon his paying to the company the ſum of fifty lacks of rupees. The grand Mogul was likewiſe ſuppoſed to be in actual poſſeſſion of Bengal, and he was to give a paper granting to the company, not only the office of the Dewannie, which conſiſts in ſuperintending the lords and collectors of thoſe provinces, but the revenues alſo; by which of courſe all the treaties with the Nabobs of Bengal were rendered void. He was likewiſe to confirm to the company the lands before granted to them by the former Nabob's, and to confirm lord Clive's Jagheer. For all which the Mogul was to be paid by the Engliſh company the annual ſum of twenty ſix lack of rupees for

his

his expences and the ſupport of his dignity: and he was to be continued in the poſſeſſion of Corra and part of the province at Illahabad.

The ſelect committee at Calcutta had not the leaſt doubt of the Mogul's complying with all this very readily, becauſe as they expreſſed it, "the king is now dependant on our bounty, his whole hope of protection and even of ſubſiſtence, reſt upon us; it cannot therefore be ſuppoſed he will prove obſtinate in denying a requeſt of little conſequence to him in his preſent circumſtances, but advantageous to us, his greateſt benefactors, and we may ſay his only friends."

The committee, intended to make ſtill a better uſe of the Mogul's inglorious dependency. Upon the ſame principles at before, ſunnuds for the provinces in the Decan valued at the yearly revenue of thirty lacks or 375,000l. were to be obtained alſo: lord Clive in a letter from Mootaſill, informed his ſelect committee at Calcutta in the following words, that he was reſolved to ſucceed. "I have been deſired by the preſident of Fort. St. George to obtain ſunnuds for the free northern provinces, which being a matter of great importance, I ſhall make a point of ſucceeding in it; and as the Nabob of Bengal intends purchaſing his majeſty's favour at the price of five lacks of rupees, I make no doubt that all the ſunnuds demanded on the company's account will be afforded gratis. The ſituation of Shah Allum was ſuch, that if the loweſt ſervant of the company had been ſent to him with authority, the prince would have granted the remainder of this empire for the ſake of a ſubſiſtence and the ſecurity of his perſon. Accordingly the

the following grants required of him were obtained under his imperial firmeurs.

Copy of the new agreement, or treaty jointly entered into between the Nabob Najim al Dowlah, the Nabob Sujah al Dowlah, the emperor Shah Allum, and lord Clive and the ſecret committee of Calcutta; upon the latter's revoking all former treaties, and new modelling the affairs of the company, by aſſuming the Dewanné. Dated the 16th Auguſt 1765.

(Sealed and approved by the Emperor.)

" Whereas the right honourable Robert Lord Clive, baron Clive of Plaſſey, knight, companion of the moſt honourable order of the Bath, major general and commander of the forces, preſident of the council, and governor of Fort William, and of all the ſettlements belonging to the united company of merchants of England trading to the Eaſt Indies, in the provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Oriſſa; and John Carnac, eſquire, brigadier general, colonel in the ſervice of the ſaid company, and commanding officer of their forces upon the Bengal eſtabliſhment, are inveſted with full and ample powers, on the behalf of his excellency the Nabob Najim al Dowlah, Subahdar of Bengal, Bahar, and Oriſſa, and likewiſe on behalf of the united company of merchants of England trading to the Eaſt Indies, to negociate, ſettle, and finally to conclude a firm and laſting peace with his highneſs the Nabob Sujah al Dowlah, Viſier of the empire: be it known to all thoſe to whom it may or ſhall in any manner

manner belong, that the above-named plenipotentiaries have agreed upon the following articles with his highneſs.

1ſt. A perpetual and univerſal peace, ſincere friendſhip, and firm union ſhall be eſtabliſhed between his highneſs Sujah al Dowlah, and his heirs, on the one part, and his excellency Najim al Dowlah, and the Engliſh Eaſt-India company, on the other, ſo that the ſaid contracting powers ſhall give the greateſt attention to maintain between themſelves their dominions, and their ſubjects, this reciprocal friendſhip, without permitting, on either ſide, any kind of hoſtilities to be committed from henceforth for any cauſe, or under any pretence whatſoever; and every thing ſhall be carefully avoided, which might hereafter prejudice the union now happily eſtabliſhed.

2d. In caſe the dominions of his Highneſs Sujah al Dowlah ſhall at any time hereafter be attacked, his excellency Najim al Dowlah and the Engliſh company ſhall aſſiſt him with a part of the whole of their forces, according to the exigency of his affairs, and ſo far as may be conſiſtent with their own ſecurity; and if the dominions of his excellency Najim al Dowlah, or the Engliſh company ſhall be attacked, his highneſs ſhall in like manner aſſiſt them with a part or the whole of his forces; in the caſe of the Engliſh company's forces being employed in his highneſs's ſervice, the extraordinary expence of the ſame is to be defrayed by him.

3d. His highneſs ſolemnly engages never to entertain or receive Coſſim Ally Khawn, the late Subahdar of Bengal, &c. Sumroo the aſſaſſin of the Engliſh,

Engliſh, nor any of the European deſerters within his dominions, nor to give the leaſt countenance, ſupport, or protection to them: he likewiſe ſolemnly engages to deliver up to the Engliſh whatever Europeans may in future deſert from them into this country.

4th. The king, Shah Allum, ſhall remain in full poſſeſſion of Cora, and ſuch part of the province of Illahabad as he now poſſeſſes, which are ceded to his majeſty as a royal demeſne for the ſupport of his dignity and expences.

5th. His highneſs Sujah al Dowlah engages, in the moſt ſolemn manner, to continue Bulwant Sing in the Zemindaries of Banaras, Ghazipore, and all thoſe diſtricts he poſſeſſed at the time he came over to the late Nabob Jaffier Ally Khawn and the Engliſh, on condition of his paying the ſame revenue as heretofore.

6th. In conſideration of the great expence incurred by the Engliſh company in carrying on the late war, his highneſs agrees to pay them (fifty) 50 lacks of rupees, in the following manner, viz. (twelve) 12 lacks in money, and a depoſit of jewels, to the amount of eight lacks, upon the ſigning of this treaty; (five) 5 lacks one month after, and the remaining (twenty-five) 25 lacks by monthly payments, ſo as that the whole may be diſcharged in (thirteen) 13 months from the date hereof.

7th. It being firmly reſolved to reſtore to his highneſs the country of Banaras, and the other diſtricts now rented by Bulwant Sing, notwithſtanding the grant of the ſame from the king to the Engliſh company; it is therefore agreed, that they ſhall be ceded to his highneſs in manner following, viz. They ſhall remain in the hands of the Eng-

liſh company with their revenues, till the expiration of the agreement between the Rajah Bulwant Sing and the company, being on the 27th November next; after which his highneſs ſhall enter into poſſeſſion, the fort of Chunar excepted, which is not to be evacuated untill the 6th article of this treaty be fully complied with.

8th. His highneſs ſhall allow the Engliſh company to carry on a trade, duty-free, throughout the whole of his dominions.

9th. All the relations and ſubjects of his highneſs, who in any manner aſſiſted the Engliſh during the courſe of the late war, ſhall be forgiven and no ways moleſted for the ſame.

10th. As ſoon as this treaty is executed, the Engliſh forces ſhall be withdrawn from the dominions of his highneſs, excepting ſuch as may be neceſſary for the garriſon of Chunar, or for the defence and protection of the king in the city of Illahabad, if his majeſty ſhould require a force for that purpoſe.

11. His highneſs the Nabob Sujah al Dowlah, his excellency the Nabob Najim al Dowlah, and the Engliſh company, promiſed to obſerve ſincerely and ſtrictly all the articles contained and ſettled in the preſent treaty; and they will not ſuffer the ſame to be infringed, directly or indirectly, by their reſpective ſubjects; and the ſaid contracting powers generally and reciprocally guarantee to each other all the ſtipulations of the preſent treaty.

Clive [L. S.]
John [L. S.] Carnac.
Sujah [L. S.] Al Dowlah's Seal and Ratification.
Mirza Coſſim Khawn.
Rajah Shetabroy.
Meer Maſha Allah. Signed,

Signed, ſealed, and ſolemnly ſworn to according to their reſpective faiths, by the contracting parties at Illahabad, this 16th day of Auguſt, in the year of our lord 1765, in the preſence of us——

Edmund Maſkelyne,
Archib. Swinton,
George Vanſittart.

Fort William, Sept. 30th 1765.

A true copy. Alexander Campbell, S. S. C.

Copy of the general Firmaun from the emperor Shah Allum, granting to the company the Dewannee of Bengal, Bahar, and Oriſſa. Dated 12th Auguſt 1765.

At this happy time our royal firmaun, indiſpenſably requiring obedience, is iſſued, that whereas, in conſideration of the attachments and ſervices of the high and mighty, the nobleſt of exalted nobles, the chief of illuſtrious warriors, our faithful ſervants and ſincere well-wiſhers, worthy of our royal favours, the Engliſh company, we have granted them the Dewannee of the provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Oriſſa, from the beginning of the Fuſſul Rubby of the Bengal year 1172, as a free gift and ultumgau, without the aſſociation of any other perſon, and with an exemption from the payment of the cuſtoms of the Dewannee, which uſed to be paid to the court; it is requiſite that the ſaid company engage to be ſecurity for the ſum of twenty-ſix lacks of rupees a year, for our royal revenue, which ſum has been

appointed from the Nabob, Najim al Dowlah Bahader, and regularly remit the ſame to the royal Sircar; and in this caſe, as the ſaid company are obliged to keep up a large army for the protection of the provinces of Bengal, &c. we have granted to them whatſoever may remain out of the revenues of the ſaid provinces, after remitting the ſum of twenty-ſix lacks of rupees to the royal Sircar, and providing for the expences of the Nizamut: it is requiſite that our royal deſcendants the Vizier's, the beſtowers of dignity, the Omrahs, high in rank, the great officers, the Mutſeddees of the Dewannee, the managers of the buſineſs of the Sultanut, the Jagueedars and Croories, as well the future as the preſent, uſing their conſtant endeavours for the eſtabliſhment of this our royal command, leave the ſaid office in poſſeſſion of the ſaid company, from generation to generation, for ever and ever, looking upon them to be inſured from diſmiſſion or removal, they muſt on no account whatſoever give them any interruption, and they muſt regard them as excuſed and exempted from the payment of all the cuſtoms of the Dewannee, and royal demands. Knowing our orders on the ſubject to be moſt ſtrict and poſitive, let them not deviate therefrom.

Written the 24th of Sophar, of the 6th year of the Jaloos*.

Contents of the Zimmun.

Agreeably to the paper which has received our ſign-manual, our royal commands are iſſued, that in conſideration of the attachment and ſervices of the

* The 12th Auguſt 1765.

the high and mighty, the nobleſt of exalted nobles, the chief of illuſtrious warriors, our faithful ſervants and ſincere well-wiſhers, worthy of our royal favours, the Engliſh company, we have granted them the Dewannee of the provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Oriſſa, from the beginning of the Fuſſul Rubby of the Bengal year 1172, as a free gift and ultumgau, without the aſſociation of any other perſon, and with an exemption from the cuſtoms of the Dewanee, which uſed to be paid to the court, on condition of their being ſecurity for the ſum of twenty-ſix lacks of rupees a year, for our royal revenue; which ſum has been appointed from the Nabob Najim al Dowlah Bahader; and after remitting the royal revenue, and providing for the expences of the Nizamut, whatſoever may remain we have granted to the ſaid company.

The Dewannee of the province of Bengal.

The Dewannee of the province of Bahar.

The Dewannee of the province of Oriſſa.

A true Copy.

Fort William
30th September 1765.

Alex Campbell.
S. S. C.

Copy of the Firmaun from the emperor, Shah Allum, confirming to the Engliſh company the provinces of Burdwan, Midnipore, and Chittigong, and the 24 pergunnahs of Calcutta, &c. before ceded to them by the Nabobs, Jaffier Ally

Ally Khawn and Coſſim Ally Khawn. Dated the 12th Auguſt 1765.

At this happy time our royal firmaun, indiſpenſably requiring obedience, is iſſued, that the Chucklahs of Burdwan, Midnipore, and Chittigong, &c. and alſo the twenty-four pergunnahs of Calcutta, &c. (the zemindary of the high and mighty, the nobleſt of exalted nobles, the chief of illuſtrious warriors, our faithful ſervants and ſincere well-wiſhers, worthy of our royal favours, the Engliſh company) which were granted to the ſaid company in the time of Meer Mahomed Coſſim and Meer Mahomed Jaffier Khawn, deceaſed. We, in conſideration of the attachment of the ſaid company, have been graciouſly pleaſed to confirm to them, from the beginning of the Fuſſul Rubby of the Bengal year 1172, as a free and ultumagau, without the aſſociation of any other perſon. It is requiſite that our royal deſcendants, the Viziers, the beſtowers of dignity, the Omrahs, high in rank, the great officers, the Mutſeddees of the Dewannee, the managers of the buſiueſs of the ſultanut, the Jagueerdars and Croories, as well the future as the preſent, uſing their conſtant endeavours for the eſtabliſhment of this our royal command, leave the ſaid diſtricts and pegunnahs in poſſeſſion of the ſaid company from generation to generation, for ever and ever; looking upon them to be inſured from diſmiſſion or removal, they muſt on no account whatſoever give them any interruption, and they muſt regard them as excuſed and exempted from the payment of all manner of cuſtoms and demands. Knowing our orders on this

ſub-

ſubject to be moſt ſtrict and poſitive, let them not deviate therefrom.

Written the 24th of Sophar, of the 6th Year of the Jaloos*.

Contents of the Zimmun.

Agreeably to the paper which has received our ſign-manual, our royal commands are iſſued, that the Chucklahs of Burdwan, Midnipore, and Chittigong, &c. and alſo the twenty-four pergunnahs of Calcutta, &c. (the zemindary of the Engliſh company) which were granted to the ſaid company in the time of Meer Mahomed Coſſim, and Meer Mahomed Jaffier Khawn, deceaſed, be confirmed to the ſaid company, as a free gift and ultumgau, without the aſſociation of any other perſon.

Chucklah of Burdwan.
Chucklah of Midnipore.
Chucklah of Chittigong.

The twenty-four pergunnahs of Calcutta, &c. the zemindary of the Engliſh company.

Fort William, September 30th, 1765.

ALEX. CAMPBELL.
S. S. C.

The 12th Auguſt 1765.

Copy

Copy of the firmaun from The Emperor Shah Allum, confirming the reverſion, in perpetuity, of lord Clive's Jagheer to the company. Dated the 12th Auguſt 1765.

Whereas a ſunnud has been preſented to us under the ſeal of the Nabob, Najim al Dowlah Bahadar, to the following purport, viz. "The ſum "of 222,958 ſicca rupees and odd, agreeably to "the Dewannee ſunnud, and the ſunnud of the "high and mighty Sujah al Muluck Hoſſamo "Dowlah Meer Mahomed Jaffier Cawn Bahader, "has been appointed from the Pergunnahs of Cal"cutta, &c. in the Sircar of Sautgaum, &c. in "the province of Bengal (the paradiſe of the "earth) the zemindary of the Engliſh company, "as an unconditional jagheer to the high and "mighty Zubdut al Muluck Nuſſer al Dowlah "Lord Clive, Bahader, now likewiſe the ſaid "Pergunnahs are confirmed as an unconditional "jagheer to the high and mighty aforeſaid, from "the 16th May of the 1764th year of the chriſ"tian ſtile (anſwering to the 14th of Zelcada of "the 1177th year of the hegira) to the expirati"tion of ten years, they ſhall appertain as an "unconditional jagheer to the high and mighty "aforeſaid, and after the expiration of this term, "to revert to the company as an unconditional "jagheer and perpetual gift; and if the high and "mighty aforeſaid ſhould die within the ſaid "term, ſhall revert to the company immediately "upon his death."

And whereas the ſaid ſunnud has met with our approbation at this happy time, therefore our royal

royal firmaun, indiſpenſably requiring obedience, is iſſued; that in conſideration of the fidelity of the Engliſh company and the High and Mighty aforeſaid, the ſaid jagheer ſtand confirmed agreeably to the aforeſaid ſunnud: it is requiſite that the preſent and future Mutſeddees, the Chowdries, Canongoes, Muckaudums, Ryots, and all other inhabitants of the Pergunnahs of Calcutta, &c. in the Sircar of Sautgaum, &c. regard the High and Mighty aforeſaid during the forementioned term, and after him the company aforeſaid, as unconditional Jagheerdars, and regularly pay them the revenues of the ſaid Pergunnahs.

Written the 24th Sophar, the 6th year of Jaloos.

Contents of the Zimmun.

Agreeably to the paper which has been received, ſign manual, our royal commands are iſſued, that whereas the ſum of 222,958 ſicca rupees and odd, has been appointed from the Pergunnahs of Calcutta, &c. in the Sircar of Sautgaum, &c. the zemindary of the Engliſh company, as an unconditional jagheer to the high and mighty Subdut al Muluck Nuſſer al Dowlah Lord Clive Bahader, agreeably to the Dewannee ſunnud, and the ſunnud of the Nazim of the province; in conſideration therefore of the attachment of the High and Mighty aforeſaid, we have been graciouſly pleaſed to confirm to him the ſaid Pergunnahs for the ſpace of ten years, commencing from the

16th May of the 1764th year of the Chriſtian ſtile or 14th of Zelcada of the 1177th year of the hegira; and in conſideration of the attachment of the Engliſh company, we have granted the ſaid Pergunnahs to them after the expiration of the aforeſaid term, as an unconditional jagheer and perpetual gift; and if this High and Mighty aforeſaid, ſhould die within the term, the ſaid Pergunnahs are to revert immediately to the Engliſh company.

Fort William, the 30th September, 1765.

A true Copy.
Alexander Campbell.
S. S. C.

Copy of the Firman from The Emperor Shah Allum, granting to the company the five northern Sircars of Sicacole, &c. Dated 12th Auguſt 1765.

In theſe happy times, our firmaun, and full of ſplendor and worthy obedience, is deſcended, purporting, that whereas Salabat Jung Bahader, Subahdar of the Decan, conferred the Sircar of Sicacole, &c. on the French company; and that, *in conſequence of its not being confirmed by us*, either by firmaun or otherwiſe, the high, mighty, and glorious chief of the Khawns, choſen of the Omrahs, Seapoy Surdars, truly faithful, worthy of receiving favours and obligations, our invariable and never failing friends and well-wiſhers, the Engliſh company, (having ſent a large force for that purpoſe) did expel the French therefrom. We therefore, in conſideration of the fidelity and good

good wiſhes of the high, mighty, &c. &c. Engliſh company, have from *our throne, the baſis of the world*, given them the aforementioned Sircars, by way of iniam or free gift (without the leaſt participation of any perſon whatever in the ſame) from the beginning of the Phuſſul of Tuccaucool, in the year of Phaly 1172, equal to the month of April 1762. It is incumbent therefore upon you, our Sons, Omrahs, Viziers, Governors, Mutſeddees, for the affairs of our dewanſhip, Mootecophils for thoſe of our kingdom, Jagueerdars and Croories, both now and hereafter, for ever and ever, to uſe your endeavours in the ſtrengthening and carrying into execution this our moſt high command, and to cede and give up to the abovementioned Engliſh company, their heirs and deſcendants, for ever and ever, the aforeſaid Sircars, and eſteeming them likewiſe free, exempt, and ſafe from all diſplacing or removal: by no means whatever, either moleſt or trouble them on account of the demands of the Dewan's office, or thoſe of our imperial court. Looking upon this high firmaun as an abſolute and poſitive order, obey it implicitly. Dated the 24th of the moon ſophar*, in the ſixth of our reign.

Forms made uſe of on the back of the Firmaun.

From the ſecretary, ſetting forth, that his majeſty had been pleaſed to ſign a petition, (ſuppoſed to be from the company) of the ſame date as the firmaun, directing, that whereas Salabat Jung Ba-

* Equal to the 12th Auguſt 1765.

hader, Subahdar of the Deccan, conferred the ſircar of Sicacole, &c. on the French company, and that in conſequence of it's not being confirmed by his majeſty, either by firmaun or otherwiſe, the high, mighty, &c. &c. Engliſh company (having ſent a large force for that purpoſe) did expel the ſaid French therefrom. His majeſty therefore, in conſideration of the fidelity of the aforeſaid Engliſh company, has given them (without the participation of any perſon whatever in the ſame) the above-mentioned ſircars by way of iniam or free giſt.

Then follow two orders from the Mogul; the firſt, ſuppoſed to be in his own hand, addreſſed to his ſon Mirza Mahomed Acbur Shah Bahader, telling him to comply with the contents of this firmaun; the other directing that the Engliſh company be under his ſon's command or in his Reſaula. The whole atteſted under Kazy Inauyet Khawn's ſeal to be a true copy from the original.

Copy of the agreement whereby the right honourable Robert lord Clive, on the part of the Engliſh eaſt india company, agrees to pay the king Shah Allum, from the revenues of Bengal, Bahar and Oriſſa, the ſum of twenty-ſix lacks, or 325,000 l. per annum, in gratitude for the favours which his lordſhip and the company had received from His Imperial Majeſty. Dated 19th Auguſt 1765.

Articles of agreement with his Majeſty.

The nabob Najim al Dowlah agrees to pay to his Majeſty out of the revenues of Bengal, Ba-

har,

har, and Oriſſa, the ſum of 26 lacks of rupees a year, without any deduction for batta, on bills of exchange, by regular monthly payments amounting to Rs. 216,600—10—9 per month; the firſt payment to commence from the 1ſt of September of the preſent year; and the Engliſh company in conſideration of his Majeſty's having been graciouſly pleaſed to grant the dewannee of Bengal, &c. do engage themſelves to be ſecurity for the regular payment of the ſame. It ſhall be paid month by month from the factory at Patna, to Rajah Shetabroy, or whomſoever his Majeſty may think proper to nominate, that it may be forwarded by him to the court: but in caſe the territories of the aforeſaid Nabob ſhould be invaded by any foreign enemy, a deduction is then to be made out of the ſtipulated revenue, proportionably to the damage that may be ſuſtained.

In conſideration of Nudjuff Khawn's having joined the Engliſh forces, and acted in his majeſty's ſervice in the late war, his majeſty will be graciouſly pleaſed to allow him the ſum of two lacks of rupees a year, to be paid by equal monthly payments; the firſt payment to commence from the 1ſt of September of the preſent year; and in default thereof, the Engliſh company, who are guarantees for the ſame, will make good out of the revenue allotted to his majeſty from the territories of Bengal. If the territories of Bengal ſhould be invaded at any time, and on that account a deduction be made out of the royal revenue, in ſuch caſe

caſe a proportionable deduction ſhall alſo be made out of Nudjuff-Khawn's allowance.

Dated the 19th of Auguſt, 1765.

Fort William, 30th of September, 1765.

A true Copy.

Alexander Campbell,
S. S. C.

• In July 1765, the Nabob, Najim al Dowlah, agreed to accept of 5386,131 rupees, 9 annes, or 673,266l. ſterling, for the ſupport of his government and dignity, becauſe his imperial majeſty Shah Allum had been pleaſed to give the revenues of his Nabobſhip to the Engliſh Eaſt-India company, with the Dewannee of Bengal, Baher, and Oriſſa, as a free gift for ever. This agreement was ſworn to, as long as the Engliſh company's factories continue in Bengal.

The reader will obſerve that Shah Allum is the ſame prince, whom colonel Clive, then governor and preſident of Calcutta, had ſtrenuouſly oppoſed, and even chaſtiſed the Rajah's as rebellious veſſels for daring to join his royal ſtandard. The prince, whoſe firmauns had on many former occaſions been declared abſolutely invalid againſt whom a formal treaty had been entered into between the company and the Nabob of Bengal, on the 27th of September 1760, and whoſe pretenſion even the directors of the Eaſt-India company themſelves had acknowledged to be entirely doubtful.

In a minute as governor Vanſittart, colonel Call-

Caillaud and other gentlemen of the council at Bengal, entered on the conſultations under date of the 12th of January 1761. It is ſaid, "as to the Mogul's firmaun, there was a time when the orders of Delhi had ſome weight at Bengal, but that time is no more, it is hard to ſay who is king at Delhi or who will be."

This unfortunate prince was made ſubſervient to the ambitious views of the company. It is well known that he had not the free adminiſtration even of thoſe diſtricts, nor the ſtipend ultimately allotted to him; the company aſſumed the management of his mints and the regulations of his ſervants.

There has not been in reality any real emperor of Indoſtan for many years paſt; the whole country is in a ſtate of anarchy where there is no law, but that of the ſtrongeſt. Mr. Dow, truly ſays, "that Indoſtan is at preſent torn to pieces by factions. All laws divine and human are trampled under foot: inſtead of one tyrant as in the times of the empire, the country now groans under thouſands, and the voice of the oppreſſed multitude reaches heaven. It would therefore, be promoting the cauſe of juſtice and humanity to pull thoſe petty tyrants from the height, to which their villainies have raiſed them, and to give to ſo many millions of mankind a government founded upon the principles of virtue and juſtice.

As to the unfortunate and generous prince, who is now called the Mogul, he is dependent for his ſubſiſtence upon the ſervants of an incorporated ſociety of Engliſh merchants, who have raiſed him to that exalted title, for making him an inſtru-

ment

ment of their rapaciouſneſs, and giving a ſanction to their oppreſſions.

The ſovereign of that empire, whoſe friendſhip and alliance the firſt potentates of Europe courted formerly, and to whom they ſent reſpectful embaſſies, humbly beſeeching his protection for the benefit of their ſubjects trading in his dominions, is now a mere pageant of royalty, and ſunk into ſuch contempt as the creature of the Eaſt India company, that major Morriſon appointed ambaſſador of Shah Allum to our court, notwithſtanding the authenticity of his credentials has been denied acceſs to majeſty in that public character, and the company has refuſed to pay thirty thouſand pounds, aſſigned to him for the ſupport of his dignity, in conſequence of the money due to that prince. The major had ſerved the company with reputation, and in his way to England through Delhi, the Mogul deſired to ſee him and appointed him general of his forces, with the additional honour of his ambaſſador at the court of Great Britain. I have not ſeen a book publiſhed by that gentleman, to prove the advantages of an alliance with his maſter, but as he is now at the mercy of the company, and his revenues are managed by them, the King of Great Britain cannot treat upon an equality with a prince, commanded by his ſubjects: nor indeed can his alliance as things are at preſent, be advantageous to the nation.

This prince amidſt all his misfortunes, has given ſeveral inſtances of his generoſity, particularly to the members of the ſecret committee, who made him, on the 30th of September 1765. He preſented

ſented general Carnac with two lacks of rupees, and in the year 1767, he likewiſe preſented colonel Richard Smith with two lacks more, as appears from the minute of the council of Calcutta, dated the 14th of September of the ſame year.

In conſequence of the new arrangements of lord Clive, there were ſeveral conſultations about the office called dewannee. Mr. Vanſittart pretended that the dewan is the ſecond officer of the province, whoſe buſineſs is to ſuperintend the lands and collections. He was appointed by the court of Dehli, and independent in every reſpect of the Nabob, who according to the original conſtitution of the empire, has no right to interfere in the management of the revenue. Thus the collections of the revenues of all the provinces ſubject to the Nabob, are to be accounted for with the court of Dehly.

Mr. Holwell formerly governor of Bengal tells us, that the rents of the lands are the property of the emperor, in conſequence of which, he has a royal dewan in every nabobſhip, who ought to be accountable to the royal treaſury for the whole amount of the rents, as rated upon the king's books. But as there is always a good underſtanding between the Dewan and the Nabob, they never are at a loſs in pretending reaſons for the rents falling ſhort, though the whole is fully and ſtrictly collected. What is diverted from the royal treaſury, is divided berween the Dewan and the Nabob, of which the latter takes all the lion's ſhare.

The dewannee, which was aſſumed by lord Clive and his committee, had been long before repeatedly offered to the company; but was always

rejected. The court of directors wrote to the governor and council of Calcutta on this ſubject, and approved of their refuſal of the dewannee of Bengal, offered by the king Shah Allum, and expreſſed their ſatisfaction of the juſt and prudent reaſons which they had given for declining that offer; it was thought that it would be the ſource of continual diſputes with the Nabob, by occaſioning a great diminution of his authority; and a continual cauſe of jealouſy and contention with the military powers, and the European nations who had ſettlements in Bengal, that it might ſubject the affairs of the company to the interference of the Britiſh legiſlature, or in the end might be attended with other conſequences highly prejudicial to the intereſts of the company.

The reaſons alledged by lord Clive and his ſelect committee for aſſuming the dewannee contrary to the opinion of the directors were thus ſtated in a letter dated September 30, 1765.

The perpetual ſtruggles of ſuperiority between the Nabobs and your agents, together with the recent proofs before us of notorious and avowed corruption, have rendered us unanimouſly of opinion, after the moſt mature deliberation, that no other method could be ſuggeſted of laying the ax to the root of all thoſe evils, than that of obtaining the dewannee of Bengal, Bahar and Oriſſa for the company. By this acquiſition of the dewannee, your poſſeſſions and influence are rendered permanent and ſecure; ſince no future Nabob will neither have power or riches ſufficient to attempt your overthrow by means either of force or corruption. The experience of years has convinced us, that a diviſion

ſion of power is impoſſible, without generating diſcontent and hazarding the whole. All muſt belong either to the company or to the Nabob; and we leave you to judge which alternative is the moſt deſirable and the moſt expedient in the preſent circumſtances."

In another letter dated the 30th of September, the motives for aſſuming the dewannee are farther explained in the following words; "Though the revenues belong to the company, yet were the company's officers to be the collectors, foreign nations would immediately take umbrage, and complaints preferred to the Britiſh court might be attended with very embarraſſing conſequences; nor can it be ſuppoſed that either the French, Dutch or Danes would acknowledge the Engliſh company Nabob of Bengal, and pay into the hands of their ſervants the duties upon trade, or the quit-rent of theſe diſtricts which they have for many years poſſeſſed by virtue of the royal firmaun, or grants from former Nabobs." And again, "in conſidering the ſubject of the dewannee, and the conſequences of your large increaſe of revenues, I have already obſerved, that our acquiſition will give no umbrage to foreign nations, with reſpect to our territorial juriſdiction, ſo long as the preſent appearance of the Nabob's power is preſerved." He concluded by telling the directors, "you are now become the ſovereigns of a rich and potent kingdom; you are now not only the collectors, but the proprietors of the Nabob's dominions. The principal motives of this manoeuvre were to eſtabliſh ſuch monopolies of the trade of the country, and even of the common neceſſaries of life, for

their own private emolument, and to the ſubverſion of the natural rights of mankind, as to this day remained unparalleled in the hiſtory of the moſt deſpotic government."

It is evident that the grant of this dewannee, came from a prince, whoſe authority had been publicly diſavowed, by the receivers of it; and that the whole was a contrivance of the noble lord and his committee, for their private advantage: and that by aſſuming the ſovereignty of the country, they endeavoured to blind not only the Indians and other foreign factories, but even the Britiſh nation.

Ever ſince the ſubverſion of the Mogul empire, the nominal ſovereigns who have been ſet up by the different uſurpers at Dehli, have been profuſe in their grants, honours and dignities; a ſum of money diſtributed among the creatures of theſe Mogul-makers obtained the grant or confirmation of any ſunnud or office. It was receiving ſo much clear gain, for a ſuppoſed gift that was not in the donor's poſſeſſion. A ſtriking inſtance of this mode of negociation related by Mr. Vanſittart, was of an intriguing dewan or miniſter of the Nabob, named Nundcomar, obtaining his own titles and ſeals, before his maſter Meer Jaffier received any aſſurances whatever of the royal appointment to the Nabobſhip. The grand Mogul's grants of that ſort are of late become ſtill cheaper; the black ſervants of many gentlemen in the ſervice of the Eaſt-India company having been by him created rajahs or princes; and ſeveral ſervants of the company have returned to Europe with the titles of omrahs.

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The firſt formal treaty that our company had entered into with any Nabob of Bengal, was that ſolemnly ratified on the 9th of February 1757, the Nabob Serajah al Dowlah ſwearing on the koran, and colonel Clive pledging the names of God and our Saviour to obſerve the ſame. But intereſt which ſuperſedes all oaths and treaties betwixt two parties equally influenced by rapaciouſneſs and a ſordid avarice, has rendered precarious all theſe mutual engagements.

Monſieur Dupleix the oſtentatious governor of Pondicherry, having firſt diſcovered the ſuperiority of European diſcipline over the numerous and timid legions of Indoſtan, by the ſucceſsful arms of the French on the coaſt of Coromandel, invented the profitable traffic of ſetting up and depoſing Nabobs. It was happy for the Engliſh company, as Mr. Crafton judiciouſly obſerves, that the Nabob Serajah al Dowlah's army made ſo little reſiſtance in the field of Plaſſey, as according to his computation there was only ſeventy men killed and wounded. Meer Jaffier was the firſt naſim created in Bengal by the Engliſh, who before their repeated ſucceſſes againſt the late Nabob, the French and the Dutch might have marched to Delhi without any obſtruction. It is worthy of obſervation, that colonel Clive was made an omrah of the empire by Meer Jaffier, who had been juſt before placed on the throne of Bengal, by the arts and policy of the colonel. As there was then no real Emperor to grant a firmaun, application was made at Dehli for the ſeal of Allum Gheer, the prince who was taken out of priſon, ſet up, and afterwards murdered by Gazi al Deer Khawn. Whoſe

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firmauns to his ſon Aly Gohar, at another time the colonel was ſo far from admitting, that he threatened to chaſtiſe as rebels the adherents of that prince. By virtue of this title of Omrah conferred on him by the Nabob to his creature, colonel Clive was ſuppoſed to maintain 6000 horſe, for the ſupport of which the ſaid Nabob made him a jagueerdar, or lord of the lands ceded by the treaty mentioned before to the Engliſh company, upon which the yearly income called jagueer, of near 30,000 l. ſterling was acquired by the colonel.

The Dutch of Bengal ſeeing the uſes which the French and Engliſh had made of Moguls and Nabobs in this diſtracted ſtate of the country, from the ſuperiority of European diſcipline, formed in their turn the deſign of trying their fortune in the ſame way. We have mentioned how their project formed by their factory at Chinſura in Bengal, and adopted by the government of Batavia, miſcarried towards the end of the year 1759, by the vigilance and activity of the Engliſh. Revolutions ever ſince have been a trade in the peninſula of Indus, and a reſource for the exigencies of the Engliſh company and their ravenous ſubſtitutes.

It was according to the meaſures of that deteſtable policy, that Meer Jaffier was reſtored and depoſed. Had the Nabob Meer Coſſim been a man of perſonal courage, and animated his troops by his own preſence in the field, it is more than probable that the Engliſh company would have been ruined and diſgraced, without a ſingle foot of ground in thoſe provinces. The diſcipline and intrepidity of Coſſim's troops, rendered for ſome time the ſucceſs of the war ſo uncertain, that (contrary to all former practice),

practice), the writers and other young perſons in the civil ſervice of the company, were all accoutred, diſciplined and formed into a military corps; but the iſſue of the battle of Gareea, wherein it was long doubtful which ſide would prevail, did at laſt turn the ſcale in favour of the Engliſh, after the campaign had laſted above five months. We have ſeen how Meer Jaffier fled, and was purſued from place to place, till he was at length totally driven out of his dominions, and forced to take refuge with the Nabob Sujah al Dowlah, upon which Meer Jaffier ali Khawn was reinſtated in his government. In all ſubſequent treaties conſiderable additional advantages were obtained by the Engliſh, and every revolution brought by their addreſs to a happy iſſue, increaſed their demands ever ſince the Nabob of Bengal is become as much dependent upon the governor and council of Calcutta, as they could poſſibly wiſh. Even an officer of the company, as ſtipulated for in the ſeventh article of the treaty with Meer Jaffier, was from that time ſtationed with him, under the denomination of Company's Reſident, not only as a watch and a check upon the Nabob's tranſactions, but to enforce the execution of any buſineſs the governor and council might think proper to reſolve on.

On the death of Meer Jaffier, February 5th 1765, it was thought neceſſary by the governor and council at Calcutta, to make ſuch new arrangements for the regulation of the court at Murſhadabad, as might ſerve to render future Nabobs ſtill more dependent, and conſequently the company more ſecure; for the execution of this deſign, four gentlemen of the council at Calcutta were appointed

pointed a deputation, with an injunction not to fix the Nabob on the muſnud or throne, till he had agreed to their requiſitions. The perſon fixed for this nominal government was Najim al Dowlah, Meer Jaffier's eldeſt ſon, a youth then about eighteen years of age. He was denied the liberty of adviſing with thoſe miniſters of his father, whom he was deſirous of continuing in office, becauſe they were ſuſpected of having embezzled a great part of the revenues, and of being ſecret enemies to the company; on this pretence the chief miniſter was ſeized, by order of the governor and council of Calcutta, and ſent priſoner thither. The Nabob in conſequence of theſe violent and arbitrary meaſures, found himſelf under a neceſſity to approve ſuch other miniſters and collectors as the Engliſh pointed out to him. An interregnum of ſeveral weeks paſſed, before the buſineſs was finally ſettled: during which period Najim al Dowlah ſaw himſelf actually reduced to the alternative, of either acceding to the arrangement propoſed by the governor and council, or of reſigning the Nabobſhip. Indeed the new regulations, with reſpect to the collection of the revenues, were judiciouſly made out, and well calculated to prevent the embezzlements which had been before practiſed, to the amount of near a million and a half ſterling per annum. The more that was ſaved to the Nabob of the public money, the more remained in fact for the company: but, however proper ſuch appointments might be, as they were totally repugnant to the inclination of the Nabob, they ſerve to point out his entire dependence. He was deprived by the treaty dated February 25th 1765, of his

his army, and the nomination of all civil and military officers of government.

The company engaged at all times, to keep up ſuch a force as may be neceſſary, eſpecially to ſupport and aſſiſt Najum al Dowlah in the defence of the provinces of Bengal, Bahar and Oriſſa. "As our troops will be more to be depended on than any the Nabob can have and of leſs expence to him, he need therefore entertain none but ſuch as are requiſite for the ſupport of the civil officers of his government and the buſineſs of his collections through the different diſtricts. On the part of the Nabob, in conſideration of the aſſiſtance the governor and council have agreed to afford in ſecuring to him the ſucceſſion in the ſubahdary, held by his father, he agrees to have a perſon appointed by the company, who has experience to adviſe and aſſiſt him, in the ſtation of Nail Subah, who ſhall have immediately under him the chief management of all affairs; that he ſhall not diſplace any of his officers without the Engliſh reſident's approbation, who ſhall have the ſupreme inſpection of the collections of the revenues; the governor and council were at liberty to object and point out to the Nabob, when improper people were entruſted, or his officers and ſubjects oppreſſed. He engaged to allow no Europeans whatever to be entertained in his ſervice; nor to permit the French to erect fortifications, maintain forces or hold lands in the three provinces, &c.

Upon all theſe revolutions large ſums of money were obtained by the perſons who conducted them from every new made Nabob. Thus were immenſe fortunes ſuddenly acquired. Upon the making of

Naſſim al Dowlah, the gentlemen deputed from Calcutta, upon that buſineſs, received conſiderable preſents; which lord Clive and the ſelect committee, who arrived at Calcutta ſoon after greatly diſapproved, and ſet on foot a very ſevere enquiry into the conduct of the deputies on that occaſion. In a letter to the proprietors of India ſtock, printed in 1766, Mr. Johnſtone, who was chief of the deputation, in vindication of his conduct, thus recriminates on his lordſhip, who was the promoter of theſe enquiries. "Did the Nabob Jaffier Ally Khawn intend to give no more to lieutenant colonel Clive than barely the ſum of 280,000 rupees, as his equal ſhare with governor Drake of the preſent of 25 lacks to the ſecret committee, and three lacks as his proportion of one eighth, as commander in chief, of the donation of 25 lacks given to the army? the additional preſent he received at the ſame time, over and above thoſe two other ſhares, was reckoned at 25 lacks, above 300,000l. ſterl. and it is well known to be the general and eſtabliſhed practice among the people of that country to make ſuch diſtinctions."

Though at the time of lord Clive's arrival in India the country was in perfect tranquillity; every enemy of the company actually ſubdued, and ſuch agreements as were thought requiſite for the company's intereſt ſettled likewiſe with the prince Shah Allum, and the Rajah Bulwantſing, yet the noble lord with his ſecret committee, reſolved to undo all that had been done, and to proceed, as if no treaties had been ratified, or peace had not exiſted in Bengal, with Shah Allum. Lord Clive in a letter to the proprietors of Eaſt-India ſtock had

had before apologized for receiving the preſents alluded to, upon his making the Nabob Jaffier Ally Khawn in the following words.

" The Nabob, agreeable to the known and uſual cuſtom of eaſtern princes, made preſents both to thoſe of his own court, and to ſuch of the Engliſh who, by their rank and abilities, had been inſtrumental in the happy ſucceſs of ſo hazardous an enterprize, ſuitable to the dignity and the rank of a great prince. I was one amongſt the many who benefited by this favour. I never ſought to conceal it, but declared publicly in my letters to the ſecret committee of the India directors, that the Nabob's generoſity had made my fortune *eaſy*; and that the company's welfare was now my only motive for ſtaying in India: what injuſtice was this to the company? They could expect no more than what was ſtipulated in the treaty; or what injunction was I under to refuſe a preſent from him who had the power to make me one, as the reward of honourable ſervices? I know of none."

The emperor Shah Allum, and the expelled Nabob Sujah al Dowlah, actually vizier of the empire, to whom the objects in view were of the higheſt importance, as the former deſired to be confirmed king of Dehly, and the latter to be reſtored to his dominions, readily agreed to every thing that was propoſed by our plenipotentiaries, and new agreements were alſo made, by which Najim al Dowlah very judiciouſly laid down his mock dignity, which the Engliſh aſſumed, under the title of dewannee, and he agreed to accept of the annual ſum of 673,266 l. ſterling, for the ſupport of his houſehold. He alſo agreed to give the emperor 325,000 l. per

per annum, for giving the dewannee or revenues of his Nabobſhip to the Engliſh; who in conſideration of this grant engaged to become ſecurities for the Nabob Najim al Dowlah regularly paying that ſum to the emperor. The abſurdity of theſe mock negotiations is too palpable to need any commentary.

With reſpect to the relation that the Engliſh Eaſt India company bears at preſent, to the Nabob of Bengal, we cannot explain it in a better manner than lord Clive has already done to the directors, upon the very ſubject of this Nabob Najim al Dowlah: his lordſhip's words are theſe, in a letter dated Calcutta, 30th of September 1765.

" Conſidering the exceſſes we have of late years manifeſted in our conduct, the princes of Indoſtan will not readily imagine us capable of moderation; nor can we expect they will ever be attached to us by any other motive than fear. Meer Jaffier Coſſim Ally, and even Mahomet Ally the Nabob of Arcot, the beſt muſſulman I ever knew, have afforded inſtances ſufficient of their inclination to throw off the Engliſh ſuperiority. No opportunity will ever be neglected that ſeems to favour an attempt to extirpate us, though the conſequences while we keep our army complete, muſt in the end be more fatal to themſelves. This impatience under the ſubjection as I may call it to Europeans is natural; but ſo great is the infatuation of the natives of this country, that they look no farther than the preſent moment, and will put their all to the hazard of a ſingle battle. Even our young Nabob, who is the iſſue of a proſtitute, who has little abilities and leſs education to ſupply the

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want of them, mean, weak and ignorant as this man is, he would if left to himſelf and a few of his artful flatterers, purſue the very paths of his predeceſſors. It is impoſſible therefore to truſt him with power and be ſafe. If you mean to maintain your preſent poſſeſſions and advantages, the command of the army and the receipt of the revenues muſt be kept in your own hands; every wiſh he may expreſs to obtain either, be aſſured, is an indication of his deſire to reduce you to your original ſtate of dependency, to which you can never now return without ceaſing to exiſt."

The young Nabob Najim al Dowlah, by the agreement made between him and the company in July 1765, was to have a ſettled income, out of the revenues of the Bengal provinces, of conſiderably more than fifty three lack of ſicca rupees per annum. Within two or three months afterwards, in conſequence of the new ſyſtem of oeconomy, introduced by lord Clive and Mr. Sykes, it was reduced to leſs than forty-two lacks; a moſt glaring injuſtice: but he died ſuddenly on the eighth of May 1766, within fifteen months after his exaltation to the maſnud.

The allowance to his brother and ſucceſſor Meer Haneyah or Seyf al Dowlah, a youth of about fifteen years old, was reduced to thirty-ſix lacks, which however he did not long enjoy, having on the 10th of March 1770, made alſo his exit ſuddenly. His youngeſt brother Mobarick al Dowlah, a youth of about thirteen years of age, was the next Nabob. His allowance upon his acceſſion to his nominal government, was ſettled by the company's forces in Bengal, at thirty two lacks a year;

year; but it was reduced in the ſame year 1770, to ſixteen lacks by the court of directors; who had the ſame time reduced alſo the income of the miniſter Mahomed Raza Khawn from nine to ſix lacks per annum. The preſent Nabob of Bengal Mobareck al Dowlah, when a child, was furniſhed with a ſeraglio, in order it is ſuppoſed to accelerate the weakneſs and infirmities of old age, by the premature enjoyment of venery. It is probable that he will die ſuddenly like his two brothers. He is the only remaining ſon of Meer Jaffier, and conſidering the late fatality among the Nabobs, it is reaſonable to imagine, the race of them in Bengal is very nearly at an end, as the preſent young prince is likely to die without iſſue. Perhaps at his death the company, for fear of awaking the fears and the jealouſies of the eaſtern princes, and of the Europeans ſettled in Indoſtan, will ſet up at his death another pageant of ſovereignity, or throw off the maſk of all ſort of moderation and equity, in declaring themſelves without firmaun or ſanction of the Mogul, Nabob of the provinces of Bengal, Bahar and Oriſſa; but it is to be hoped government will get the ſtart of them, and take poſſeſſion of theſe valuable dominions.

The day after major Knox left the army, captain Jennings ſhifted the encampment from Sant, which began to have a diſagreeable ſmell, to the banks of a Small Nullah, about four coſs from the Canaſſa.

January 24, 1764, a ſmall detachment of recovered Europeans and ſeapoys, with ſome cadets, under the command of captain Scotland, joined the army: and on the 26th, captain Mc'Lean, with

with a detachment from Burdewan, conſiſting of about 220 European infantry, a battalion of ſeapoys, a European troop of horſe, (of about 30 men) a troop of black cavalry (about one hundred) and two ſix pounders. The infantry were formed into three companies, under the command of captains Hampton, Wilding, and Scotland.

On the 30th of January, when the men were under arms, they refuſed to obey the word of command; on their being deſired to wheel to the right, not one of them moved: the commanding officer went up to them and deſired to know the meaning of this diſobedience. They acquainted him, that they wanted their donation-money; that they were told before they marched, that as ſoon as they ſhould have driven the enemy out of the country and come to the banks of the Caramnaſſa, they ſhould immediately receive a dividend of their donation. That the enemy had been driven out of the country, and that it was ſome time ſince they had arrived at the Caramnaſſa, and yet they had not received any part of it. Captain Jennings told them, that they ſhould write to the governor concerning it; that the money expected was on the road, and as ſoon as it ſhould arrive they ſhould receive their dividend. He then ordered them to the right about, diſmiſſed them, and they went off ſeemingly very well ſatisfied.

In conſequence of this diſobedience captain Jennings iſſued out the following order.

"It is with the utmoſt concern that the commanding officer ſees any diſcontent ariſing amongſt the troops he has the honour to command. he ſhall always eſteem it a happineſs in him-

" himſelf, to ſee them righted in every reſpect, as " far as he can with juſtice allow, or they with " prudence demand: as they have hitherto ſhewed " themſelves brave and good ſoldiers, he hopes " they will not now be guilty of any raſh action, " that may any way ſully their former good beha- " viour. In reſpect of the prize money, he gives " his word and honour, the payment ſhall be made " as ſoon as it arrives, and in caſe any other com- " plaints happen, if they are made in a proper " manner as becometh a ſoldier, he will endea- " vour to give them all the ſatisfaction that lies in " his power."

The commanding officer obſerving the mutinous diſpoſition of the troops, thought it moſt adviſe- able to divide them. As the grenadier's company appeared the moſt active and the moſt refractory, he detached them on the 3d of February, with a battalion of ſeapoys, a troop of black cavalry and two ſix pounders, under the command of captain Stibbert, to the Caramnaſſa. But this had not its deſired effect, for on the 11th a little paſt nine in the forenoon, the officers were alarmed by the beat- ing of the aſſembly; the officers ran in great haſte to the parade, where they found the European bat- talion already drawn up with ordered arms: one of the ſoldiers of the name of Straw appeared a little in their front, with his firelock reſted over his arm, like an officer of grenadiers: on the officers coming upon the parade he deſired the whole to have a care; reſt your firelocks, ſhoulder: which the European battalion obeyed. Captain Jennings the commanding officer, immediately went up to

Straw,

Straw, aſked him by what authority he took upon him to command them? who anſwered by the authority of his companions, and pointed to the battalion. On this captain Jennings laid hold of him by the breaſt and was going to carry him to the quarter-guard, when the battalion obſerving it, marched forward in a body with charged arms. Upon this, captain Jennings quitted his hold of Straw, and aſked the battalion their reaſon for ſuch a behaviour. They replied, that they ſome time ago had applied for their prize-money, but had no hopes of getting it: they were therefore derermined to go to Patna, and if it was not paid to them there, they were reſolved on going down to Calcutta and make the governor and council pay them; but that they previouſly would go to the caramnaſſa and take the grenadiers company down with them. Captain Jennings to quiet them, told them that he would immediately collect what money he could among the officers, and ſhould in the mean time ſend to the Nabob, and that a part of their donation ſhould be immediately paid: but they paid no regard to what he ſaid, and their major Straw ordered them to face to the right, and they immediately marched off to the caramnaſſa. Upon this captain Jennings recommended it to the officers, non-commiſſioned as well as commiſſioned, to follow the battalion, and endeavour to prevail on them to return to their duty; and he himſelf took a ſhort cut to the detachment at the caramnaſſa under the command of captain Stibbert. There were none of the non-commiſſioned officers who would venture to follow the battalion, and ſo great were the apprehenſions of the officers in

regard to the intention of the ſoldiers, that only captain Martin, enſign Davie and Mr. Allan, a cadet, who had been a ſerjeant in the 84th regiment, and was then adjutant to the European regiment, had the courage to proceed. Before the men got half way to the caramnaſſa, a French man of Mr. Martin's own company took him on one ſide, and told him in French that they were going to deſert to Sujah al Dowlah, therefore deſired him to put himſelf at their head, and that he ſhould be their general. To this the captain, a man of honour, conduct and reſolution, gave an equivocal anſwer, and by degrees dropt in the rear, when he put ſpurs to his horſe and rode back to the camp. When he got there he found that captain Jennings had gone by another road to the caramnaſſa: enſign Davie and Mr. Allan, two ſpirited and truſty officers remained with the men, uſing all the arguments they were maſters of to prevail on them to return back, but to no purpoſe. When they came within ſight of the detachment at the caramnaſſa, theſe two gentlemen ſtopped the battalion, and repreſented to them, that undoubtedly the detachment in ſight, which conſiſted of two battalions of ſeapoys, the grenadiers company and two ſix pounders would be drawn out againſt them. This for a while ſtaggered them, but the word being given to march, enſign Davie left them and ran to the detachment, where he found captain Jennings and ſeveral of the officers. Captain Jennings aſked enſign Davie what he thought the intention of the people were; he gave it as his opinion that the men intended to deſert: oh no, replied the captain, what! Engliſhmen deſert! a dram and a biſcuit

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will ſend them all back again. Enſign Davie ſaid, that if they were all Engliſhmen he ſhould think ſo too, but the two-thirds of them were foreigners.

Captain Jennings apprehenſive of the mutinous diſpoſition of the grenadiers company had ſent them off to camp, by another road before the battalion appeared. When the battalion came near the detachment they halted in a hollow for ſome little time, which I imagine was to conſult how they were to act, in caſe the ſeapoys and guns were drawn out againſt them. When they ſaw no diſpoſition made to oppoſe them, they marched on again, and when they came up to the detachment, captain Jennings ordering them to halt, remonſtrated againſt their ill behaviour, deſired them to return to their duty, and aſſured them all ſhould be forgiven; that thoſe who were for a dram and a biſcuit and were willing to march back with him ſhould hold up their hands; upon which there was a very great ſhew of hands: but the French who were inclined ſecretly to deſert, were afraid that the leaſt delay would fruſtrate all their ſchemes, they called face to the right, and away they marched. Though not a ſingle ſeapoy from the army went off with the Europeans, yet thoſe of the detachment, as if the Europeans had the power of attraction flew to their muſkets, and about ſix hundred of them got under arms. What prompted them to this menacing intimation they did not know; for the Europeans had never ſpoke a word to them. The Europeans immediately croſſed the caramnaſſa, and the ſeapoys accompanied them; they were followed by captains Stibbert and Mor-

gan. Lieutenant Eyres and enſign David Stibbert endeavoured to get back the ſeapoys; Morgan and Davie, the Europeans, and lieutenant Eyres the cavalry. They prevailed on numbers to return; all the Engliſh came back excepted three, one of which returned the following day. About three hundered of the ſeapoys returned alſo to their duty.

The officers remained with them till they found their ſituation very diſagreeable, and thought it prudent to return to the camp. Lieutenant Eyres wiſhing to get back ſome of the cavalry, he being an officer of horſe, went farther than the reſt. At laſt he was told by the men, that if he went farther they would carry him off with them, upon which he thought it moſt adviſeable to leave them to themſelves, and returned to the camp.

It is neceſſary to obſerve, that one La Marr who had been a ſerjeant in the 84th regiment, and at this time a ſerjeant in the company's ſervice, had been diſappointed in his views; he had fancied to himſelf, that he was to have been one of the three or four brave ſerjeants of the 84th regiment, whom major Adams recommended to the governor and council to be appointed cadets in the company's ſervice, and to take their riſe. He declared that major Adams had made him a promiſe to get him appointed a cadet in the company's ſervice. The diſappointment he had met with made him lay a plot to ruin that ſervice, in which he had no hopes of preferment. His father it ſeems was a French refugee, and he himſelf was maſter of the French language; this favoured his ſcheme, as he could with eaſe expreſs himſelf to the foreigners.

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The Nabob's donation not being paid, concurred to forward the execution of it, and the Engliſh, who wanted nothing more than payment, were his dupes in this affair. He even carried the farce ſo far, as to appear very active in perſuading the men to return to their duty, and was applied to by ſome of the officers to that purpoſe, as he was acquainted with the language. But he had no ſooner got clear of all the officers, than he drew his ſword, and put himſelf at their head, and ſaid that he would now ſhew them the way. And when he thought himſelf out of danger from the purſuit of our troops, he halted the deſerters, and gave out an order, "that any who ſhould leave their party to return, ſhould be looked upon as deſerters, and hanged upon the firſt tree." This was the report of one Robinſon, who hid himſelf in the night, and came back to camp the next day. There were in all about 170 Europeans that deſerted, 300 ſeapoys, a few black cavalry, and one or two Europeans amongſt them.

When the men made the delay of the payment of their donation, the cauſe of their behaviour, the commanding officer collected what money he could, and ſent it after them; but that did not appear to be what they wanted, for they would not receive any. The next day the 12th, it was in orders. "A dividend of the Nabobs donation is to to be paid the army immediately; the captain or officers commanding companies are to be careful that no non-commiſſioned officer or ſoldier are inſerted in their rolls but thoſe that were in the ſervice the firſt of July laſt.

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"The ſhare of each ſerjeant is eighty rupees; corporals and bombardiers of artillery the ſame; corporals of the battalion and gunners of artillery ſixty rupees; private ſoldiers, mattroſſes and drummers, forty rupees; havildars, twelve rupees; ſtaics nine rupees, and ſeapoys ſix rupees."

No ſooner were the ſeapoys made acquainted with the diſtribution of the donation, than a ſpirit of diſcontent aroſe amongſt them, they thought themſelves ill uſed, and that they had not got a proper ſhare. To get themſelves redreſſed, they followed the recent example of the Europeans. Accordingly the next day the 13th, about nine o'clock in the morning they took to their arms. Captain Jennings the commanding officer not knowing the intention of the ſeapoys, or how far they might proceed, immediately ordered the European battallion under arms, with two ſix pounders, and drew them up acroſs the parade, with an intenteon not only to prevent them mixing with the Europeans, but alſo their ſeizing on the Artillery Park. Soon after this diſpoſition, Captain M'Lean's battallion that was ſtationed to to the left, came ruſhing down upon them in a confuſed manner. At firſt Captain Jennings gave orders to oppoſe the ſeapoy battallion; but obſerving by this manner of their proceeding they meant no harm, ordered the Europeans to open, and let the ſeapoys paſs thro' the ranks if they would go quietly; he was providentially time enough to whip the match out of the artillery officer's hand, juſt when he was putting it to a gun loaded with grape ſhot. The ſeapoys as Captain Jennings foreſaw, paſſed through the ranks without

without offering the leaſt inſult, and when they had joined Captain Smith's battallion ſtationed on the right, they marched over the Nullah; on the banks of which we were encamped, and proceeded towards the Caramnaſſa. One of the battallions did not mutiny. However, Captain Jennings till he ſaw the iſſue of this affair, drew out the European battalion, and all the artillery of the park in front of the magazine. In the mean time, the European officers and all the principal black officers of theſe two battalions went after them, and before they got half a mile beyond the Nullah they perſuaded them to return to their duty without the deſertion of one man. The Europeans behaved with great ſubmiſſion in this tranſaction, and ſeemed to be truly ſenſible of their miſconduct on the 11th, and were willing to repair it. Captain Jennings in the the critical ſituation he found himſelf by the diſpoſition of the troops, thought it adviſable to retire from the confines of Sujah Dowlah's country, whoſe intentions towards us at this time began to be ſuſpected. For this purpoſe he recalled the detachment at the caramnaſſa under the command of captain Stibbert, and on the 16th the army marched from Sant, and on the 19th encamped at Safferam. The ſecond of March captain Smith with his battalion of ſeapoys and one ſix pounder, was ordered to march to take Rotaſgur; however, this battalion was recalled by major Carnac before they got to the place. The 5th, the army marched to the banks of the Loane, where major Carnac found them.

N. B. Straw who acted as major to the Europeans when they firſt went from camp, did all in his

his power to bring his companions back to their duty, when he found that the foreigners intended to desert. Captain Jennings, though a stranger in the company's service, was an excellent officer; his prudence and resolution in the judicious measures, he took to quell the mutinous spirit of his army, proved that he was in every respect qualified to command. His skill and judgment were not confined to his department, he was equally conversant with the other branches of the military profession. Lenity and circumspection were more calculated to suppress insurrections than rigour and temerity.

Serajah al Dowlah Nabob of Oude, a prince sagacious, humane and beneficent, affected by the disasters of the vanquished and fugitive. Coffim Ali Cawn, had granted him an asylum in his dominions. This conduct perhaps more agreeable to sentiments of generosity, than to the dictates of sound policy, was represented by the company as an infraction of the ties of friendship, and alliance subsisting between them and the Indian prince, whose territories they prepared to invade with an armed force. But the laurels acquired in the glorious campaign of major Adams, faded on the brow of his timid and irresolute successor. One should be apt to imagine, by the injudicious choice of the commander appointed to punish Sujah al Dowlah for his breach of neutrality, that the company was afraid the Nabob should learn to conquer by his defeat, as the pitiful marches and countermarches, the feint advances, and ignominious retreats of the English general, far from giving the ene-

enemy the leaſt notions of the firſt rudiments of the art of war, exhibited the moſt deſpicable ſhifts and blunders, that panic terror and inexperience could diſplay. I am really afraid the reader will ſuſpect my veracity, and tax me with an illiberal malevolence, in delineating the outlines of this ſhameful campaign.

The army lay encamped at Harreing. Whether major Carnac was conſcious that his abilities were not adequate to the command he was to aſſume, or that he preferred the eaſy and voluptuous life of Calcutta, to the toils and fatigues of the field, we cannot determine. It ſeems he was very dilatory in forwarding the military operations he was appointed to direct.

On the 6th of March 1764, majors Carnac and Champion joined the army which lay encamped at Harreing, under the command of captain Jennings of the artillery. Major Carnac having took the command, harangued the ſoldiers, and expatiated on their late ill behaviour; he told them they would ſoon have an opportunity to regain the confidence and affection of their commanders, and doubted not but they would wipe off the ſtain of their diſobedience, as the enemy was coming down upon them.

The army was then in good ſpirits, and the European ſoldiers wiſhed for an occaſion to wreck their vengeance on the foreigners, the deſerters, who had led them into diſgrace the night before. The major's ſpeech, enforced by the efficacy of a dram and biſcuit, added fuel and impatience to the fire of the Europeans, who now thought themſelves certain of having the ſatisfaction to meet ſoon in

ıe field, thoſe they ſeemed ſo eager to engage. 'heir ardour was ſoon repreſſed by orders diameıically oppoſite to the deluſive ſpeech that had rved to inflame it. The European art of war, ıd the Engliſh diſcipline which had been ſo often ı overmatch againſt the numerous armies of the roud and effeminate Aſiatics, became in this camaign the ſubject of their contempt and deriſion. 'he cautious commander, inſtead of keeping up ıe ſpirits of his little army, and availing himſelf f their revived courage and emulation, let it ſink radually into ſupineneſs and inaction. He did ot even order his tent to be pitched with them: ıd after a long time ſpent in ſuſpence and uncerinty, the general, careful of the ſoldiers preſervaon, firſt ordered an extraordinary dram to the Euıpeans, for the trouble they were put to in turnıg out for him, and then iſſued out the following rder:

" All reports to be made to major Champion, who, when there is any thing extraordinary, will make his report to the commander in chief."

After this moſt extraordinary order had been devered out to the army, the general's apathy did ot eſcape the ſhafts of cenſure and obliquy, he as ſeverely animadverted upon for amuſing himlf with ſome truſty officers in playing at cards, ıd being fond of gaming. To avoid all diſagreeble noiſe and interruption from the vicinity of a ımp, the major repaſſed the river ſoon, having ıe ſame right as Ceſar to ſay, *veni, vidi*, as for *ixi, c'eſt un autre affaire.* He fixed his head quarrs at Dowdnegar, ſeveral miles diſtant from the ımy; the next day he ordered captain Stelle's battalion

battalion of ſeapoys to march to the head quarters, to remain there as a guard to the commander in chief, in caſe of any ſurprize from the enemy during his innocent recreation. The troops diſheartened, for being deprived of the preſence and protection of their general, could not conceive the motives of his inaction; though they had been told by him that the enemy was marching againſt them; yet they ſaw no diſpoſition made to oppoſe them; no villages of eaſy defence was ſecured to retard their progreſs, no magazines eſtabliſhed, no meaſures taken either for the ſubſiſtance of the army, or to act even defenſively. Who ever has the leaſt tincture of the art of war, muſt know, that the firſt care of a ſkilful and judicious commander is to have his army well ſupplied with all kinds of proviſions requiſite for their welfare and maintenance, and to diſtreſs the enemy, in making their ſituation uncomfortable for want of theſe very neceſſaries.

On the 12th of March the following general orders were delivered out.

" The army is ordered to march by the left, the " guns in front and rear of the Europeans, the " front diviſion of ſeapoys is to furniſh guards to " prevent the baggage from going in front or on " the flanks, the quarter-guard with its own ſea- " poys is to bring up the rear of the army and to " be very careful in keeping all De Doolies toge- " ther. A ſurgeon and one aſſiſtant is to attend " them, and ſee that no man is admitted but what " ſtands in need of them: the officer of the rear " guard is to make his report of the number of " men he brings to the new ground."

As this order of March is the only one that was given out till the 23d of April, on the retreat of the army to Patna, the day before they made a forced march to Meer Abſels gardens, we thought proper to inſert it, with the view of ſhewing the regulation of the army in this immoveable campaign.

The army conjectured from this diſpoſition, that they were in earneſt going to the enemy; but before the day's march was finiſhed, they were undeceived, for they found that from the ground they had left, to the place they were going to encamp, it made an angle of about 90 degrees from a direct line to the enemy. As no officers had penetration enough to gueſs at the impenetrable deſigns of the general, they were obliged to ſubmit implicitly to his ſuperior judgment.

On the 17th, the army arrived at Buxar; it was imagined the major intended to make a ſtand here, and endeavour to entice the enemy to attack him in his ſtrong hold; but he ſeemed ſo undetermined, that the army after ſo many proofs of inconſiſtency and irreſolution, began to form an opinion of the general's prudence and conduct, not ſo favourable as the Roman army did of Fabius in his judicious and ſucceſsful procraſtination. The very ſame day the army was ordered to march, and countermanded. The 22d, the ſame orders were iſſued, and immediately repealed. The major had given over all thoughts of remaining at Buxar, and his intention was to march to Patna; but having received an order from the board at Calcutta, to advance towards the enemy, and to oppoſe their hoſtile invaſion into the provinces, he was obliged

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to countermand the laſt order of the march. The major could never have a finer opportunity, than at this juncture, to raiſe his military character. He had been at this very time informed, that the bridge of the boats, which Sujah al Dowlah had made oppoſite to Bineres was broke down, ſo that his army was parted by the river for ſeveral days. Had the commanding officer immediately obeyed the orders of the board, fortune had done every thing he could wiſh to lead him to victory: but inſtead of gathering laurels thrown on his way, he made a moſt aſtoniſhing retreat.

Agreeable to the inſtructions he had received from the council, the major ordered on the 23d an artillery officer to be ſent immediately to the mouth of the Caramnaſſa, to conſtruct a bridge over it. It was alſo ordered that "the arms, accoutre-"ments and ammunition of the line ſhould be re-"viewed, and each man to have 24 rounds of am-"munition, and a good ſpare flint."

The 24th "It was recommended to the officers "to ſend off all their ſuperfluous baggage to "Patna, alſo the ſoldiers."

By this time the army was informed of the orders that the major had received from the board.

This gave them hopes that he would now act with vigour, as they found that his hands far from being tied up, had a full ſcope for a diſcretionary exertion. Indeed, the orders which the major had given out for conſtructing a bridge over the caramnaſſa, indicated a deſign to go in ſearch of the enemy; but they never were carried into execution, and divers other methods were afterwards propoſed to defend the fort at Buxar. A village was levelled

velled with the view of throwing up lines, and the major having ordered a line to be drawn from Buxar fort to a Nulla, close to the encampment, Mr. Nicol was designed to manage the distance; on his representation supported by the major of artillery, of the too great extent between the fort and the rivulet, the scheme was dropped. Thus the general fluctuating betwixt the fear of disobeying his orders and the uncertainty of the measures he was to pursue, shifted with expedients that betrayed a shallow irresolute mind, and made him incur the contempt of these he should have encouraged by his example and activity. No disposition of battle was even thought of; every officer who commanded a battalion of seapoys, and the major commandant of the line were left to act at their discretions as so many independent generals. Provisions became scarce, though the army had not entered the enemy's country. The fort of Buxar, which two companies of seapoys might have defended against the army of Sujah al Dowlah, had been pointed out as a proper place for granaries, but these intimations had been disregarded. Two days after the army arrived at Buxar, it was reinforced by a detachment from Patna, commanded by six officers from the sick quarters; this additional force should have engaged the general to begin his operations with spirit and vigour, but he still procrastinated under a pretence of holding a council with his captains, previously to any determination. On the 3d of April, he laid before them the orders he had received from the board, to march and attack the enemy, and acquainted them at the same time with the distress of the army. They agreed unanimously

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y in the opinion of the abſolute neceſſity of marching directly towards Patna, if the army could not be ſupplied with proviſions by any other method. The officers could not diſſemble their indignation, when they ſaw their general detaching himſelf from the army, always marching in front when he ordered a retreat, and pitching his tent at ſuch a diſtance from the the camp, that he ſeemed averſe to any connection with his men. Inſtead of endeavouring to make them forge this delays and omiſſions, by an uncommon activity, he immured himſelf with major Champion the ſecond in command, captain Swinton his aid de camp, and Mr. Pearſon his ſecretary, and all theſe gentlemen, who were more fond of gaming than a ſedulous application to military art and diſcipline, played at cards almoſt inceſſantly, and admitted none to their ſelect parties but capt. Stables occaſionally, in whom they thought they could repoſe a truſt. Experience ſufficiently taught the military commanders in India, that the diſcipline and ſubordination of a handful of Europeans and ſeapoys, more than their courage, have made them feared and reſpected by the numerous legions of Indoſtan and their commanders: the whole depends of the good diſpoſition that a ſkilful general makes of his men; if once theſe grand objects are neglected, the company will ſoon looſe its ſovereignty and independency; and theſe extenſive and valuable acquiſitions obtained by army and policy, might be wreſted from their hands, in one ſucceſsful campaign of the enemy. The natives may one day or other rouſe from their indolence and apathy, and aſhamed of their ſtupidity learn from their maſters

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in the art of war, to conquer them in their turn; a complete victory may give them ſuch a ſuperiority, and inſpire them with ſuch courage, as to baffle all ſubſequent efforts to reduce them. Thus the miſconduct of a commander may ruin and diſgrace for ever the Engliſh company; and ſince they have added dominion to commerce, nothing can prevent the fatal effects of the jealouſy of the nations, but a ſtanding army commanded by officers whoſe ſkill and courage have been try'd in Indoſtan.

The army marched on the 4th of April with this regulation.

"The line and order of march is to be in all "reſpects the ſame as uſual." With this order they advanced towards Patna. On the 13th the army encamped at Dynapoor, and the next day the left wing was moved to make room for a detachment from Bombay. When major Carnac retreated from Buxar, he ſent Mr. Nicol with a ſmall party to Dowdnegar, to fathom the Soan. The major croſſed the river with his army at Monach-Gent, and having received intelligence that the enemy's advanced guard was arrived at Dowdnegar, Mr. Nicol for two days was given over as cut off; this brave officer having performed ſuch an hazardous taſk, to the ſatisfaction of the general, appeared in the camp to the joy of his friends and acquaintances.

On the 19th, captain Morgan was ordered to Patna to recruit ſeapoys with all expedition.

The major from Buxar to Diſnapoor always marched in front, and according to cuſtom pitch-

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ed his tent at ſome diſtance from the army. Sujah al Dowlah having been informed of theſe particulars, attributed to fear this precaution. He communicated his thoughts to his courtiers and generals; the former keeped him in that opinion, and the latter took care to ſpread in the army a report ſo unfavourable to the military character of the Engliſh commander. The major's ſecretary having brought him intelligence of this, he ſummoned all his courage and reſolution on the 18th, and advanced as if he was at laſt in earneſt to meet the Vizier Nabob. He marched in front as uſual, "ſaying, he would now ſhew the enemy he was not afraid:" but his ſupineneſs did not anſwer this declaration.

The 21ſt, the army encamped at Sedabad, and for the firſt time an advanced picquet was ordered. It was evident, that the major's deſign was to reach Dowdnagar before the enemy, and to oppoſe their croſſing the Soan; this ſhould have been thought of when he took the command of the army, which then lay encamped oppoſite to Dowdnagar. Having found it was too late to execute this deſign, the order for marching the next day was countermanded. The 22d, a battalion of ſeapoys and two of their guns were poſted in the rear of the army, which began again to be diſtreſſed for want of proviſions. Captain William Smith with his battalion of ſeapoys, and a gun from the park, excluſive of his own, was ordered to march to Maharage Genge, in order to eſcort proviſions to the army.

The 23d of April, the general with his army made a ſhameful retreat. A body of the enemy who had got betwixt them and Patna, attacked

captain Smith, who took poſſeſſion of a tank, or pond, and gave the enemy ſuch a warm reception, that they were glad to retire without their booty, and he brought the grain ſafe to the army: no order of march was given out.

After a forced march the army arrived at Meer Abſel's gardens; the 25th they encamped in one line, with their right to the river; it is a branch of the Ganges, which forms an iſland at this place. Meer Abſel's gardens were in the rear of the right wing: a village was levelled in front, that they might ſee the enemy as they advanced; the left was open to an extenſive plain. This ſituation was very uncomfortable: however Meer Jaffier Ali Cawn, who ſeemed the better general of the two, in pitching upon the ground for our entrenchments, uſed this expreſſion, "that God had made it for us." He had judiciouſly got under cover of the walls of Patna, and threw up works in front of his encampment. The Europeans and ſeapoys occupied an eminence to the right of the Nabob; they had thrown up a breaſt work, and extended their lines to his; they had the ſouth-weſt baſtion of Patna in their rear.

The 3d of May, the enemy at day break was diſcovered advancing towards us with their whole army in order for battle. Their regimented ſeapoys, with 16 pieces of cannon, came within 800 yards of the front of our line, and lay hid in a hollow way; then a briſk cannonading enſued, the enemy attacked a captain to the right, defended by a company of ſeapoys of captain Wilding's battalion. They behaved with great courage and reſolution, and maintained their poſt the whole day.

day. The enemy made ſeveral attempts to get into our rear by the right, but the battery of the ſouth weſt baſtion of Patna, which fired briſkly, kept them in awe. They threw a great many rockets into major Stibbert's poſt, who was to the right of captain Wilding. At laſt, a party of the enemy took poſſeſſion of a moſque about 500 yards in his front. Mr. Nicol marched out with two companies of ſeapoys and diſpoſſeſſed them.

A few minutes before ſun ſet the enemy began to draw off their cannon, our troops could hardly be reſtrained within the trenches; they wiſhed ardently to come to action, but the commander in chief thought proper to decline an engagement, and thus check their eagerneſs and ſpirited deſire to fight, on the moſt promiſing proſpect of victory; for never was a fairer opportunity to attack an enemy to advantage, had the army marched out immediately of the trenches, and fallen on the enemy on their retreat, they muſt have inevitably taken all their cannon, and totally routed them. For ſome days after, a few of the enemy's horſe appeared ſcampering about our lines, this was an additional provocation to the impatience of the intrenched army, who remained in their ſtrong hold, till they heard the enemy had repaſſed the Soan; and on the 6th of June they encamped at a ſmall diſtance from the lines, till cantonments were ready.

Major Champion had been detached on the 2d, with 300 Europeans rank and file, to Chapporah; theſe were accompanied with the company of grenadiers, two battalions of ſeapoys commanded by captains

captains Trevanion and Galliez, with four field pieces and a howitzer.

The intention of this detachment was to lay waſte the province of Gaizypore, belonging to Bulwanſing, a tributary Rajah to Sujah al Dowlah, accordingly our troops penetrated in the province, ſet flames to ſome villages, and thoſe who eſcaped the conflagration, loſt all the fruits of their labour and induſtry, while others ſaw their wives and daughters expoſed to the inſult of a ſavage and rapacious ſoldiery, and divers outrages, which characterize ruffians and ſavages, not troops uſed to diſcipline and ſubordination. Theſe brave officers who had gained laurels under major Adams, thought themſelves diſgraced to be the inſtruments of ſuch barbarities, and obeyed theſe orders with reluctance and indignation.

Sujah al Dowlah cantoned his army in our province of Budjapore, the very place where our general ſhould have led his army; where only true glory was to be obtained. The Nabob, to prevent incurſions into his own country, ſent a detachment to Garypore.

On the 17th captain Stables's battalion of ſeapoys was ſent to reinforce major Champion, in order to aſſiſt him in the continuation of his ravages and depradations, and the operations in the field, during this paſſive campaign ended, by carrying terror and deſolation into the defenceleſs cottages of an injured and innocent people, forced to leave their all at the mercy of the plunderers.

During theſe devaſtations, major Carnac received a letter from the governor and council of Calcutta, the copies of which we ſhall inſert in our next number:

number: in conſequence of that letter, the army was ordered to be in readineſs to march at a moment's warning. On the 24th, major Stibert, and the captains Spellman, Pimble, Jennings and M'Lean were deſired to meet the commander in chief at his head quarters the next morning at 7 o'clock. After ſeveral fruitleſs deliberations, on the 2d of July the order for the march of the army was countermanded.

The Nabob Jaffier Ali Cawn left *Patna* the 27th, and on his departure for Muxadabad his capital, he was ſaluted with 21 guns. The next day major Carnac ſet out for Calcutta, and in leaving Patna was ſaluted with nineteen guns. Before he left the army, he gave a grand dinner to the officers, as he had been diſmiſſed the ſervice by the court of directors, for his oppoſition to the meaſures of Mr. Vanſittart, ſome of the officers drinking his health by the denomination of major Carnac, the majority anſwered no, no longer major, but only Mr. Carnac. The gentleman however, who went firſt to India as lieutenant in Aldercorn's regiment, had no reaſon to complain of the company's ſervice, where he had acquired an independent fortune of ſeventeen thouſand pounds; had he continued in the king's ſervice he might have been yet a captain, without a ſeat in parliament, &c.

Thus ended this campaign, on the operations of which I need not anticipate the judgment of the readers. The command of Patna devolved to major Pimble, and that of the whole army to major Champion, who had been detached to Chapporah.

We

We muſt now return to the new regulations of lord Clive, in his preſidency. His eſtimates of the whole revenue of the provinces of Bengal, Bahar and Oriſſa (excluſive of Calcutta and the 24 Pergunnahs) were ſtated at 25,000,000 ficca rupees. From which he deducted,

The annual ſtipend provided by his lordſhip for the emperor Shah Allum, 2,600,000.

The annual allowance to the Nabob of Bengal which though after was reduced, was fixed at 5,386,131.

The difference between lord Clive's treaties in Auguſt 1765, and thoſe ſubſiſting in governor Spencer's time, February 1765, according to his lordſhip's eſtimate, which comprehends every eſtimate of a permanent nature, is only one hundred and eighty two thouſand, nine hundred and eighty three pounds ſterling per annum, even admitting that agreeably to his lordſhip's eſtimate, 250 lacks had been actually collected; which from a variety of cauſes, does not ſeem to have been the caſe any one year from his lordſhip's eſtabliſhment to this day. It is true, that the Vizier Nabob Sujah a Dowlah, upon his being reſtored to his country paid the company fifty lacks of rupees, agreeably to the ſixth article of the treaty as an indemnification for the charges in the war. But this being only a temporary advantage, againſt which muſt be alſo placed the extraordinary charge of that campaign; it cannot with propriety be included in the articles of a permanent annual revenue.

If then we place againſt the 182,983l. in favour of lord Clive's, the 4009,000l. now paid annually to government, and the additional improvements which

which might have been moſt reaſonably expected from Bulwanſing's zemindary. It muſt be allowed that his lordſhip's alterations upon aſſuming the Dewannee, have been no way conducive to the advantage of the company, even without bringing to account the unerring increaſe in the charges of the civil and military eſtabliſhments, which has been another ill conſequence, by almoſt deſtroying the whole revenue.

The court of Eaſt India directors were ſo ſenſible of this greatly encreaſing charge, than in their letter to the ſelect committee, dated 16th of March 1768, wherein after eſtimating what the various articles of increaſe in their military and other charges would amount to, excluſive of what might be paid to the Marattes, if their treaty with that nation ſhould come to a concluſion, they thus proceed, in the 140th paragraph:

" When theſe calculations are made, you will " find we already approach the utmoſt limits of " what expence can be afforded from the reve- " nues, and ſhould there be occaſion for any mi- " litary operations, it will be found we have not " altered our ſituation much to our advantage, " but have only exchanged a certain profit in " commerce, for a precarious one in the revenue."

By what has been ſaid before it is clear, that the Nabobs of Bengal are no other than the tools of the Eaſt India company, and their repreſentatives in Aſia, through whom not only the natives, but even Engliſhmen have been expoſed to every ſpecies of oppreſſion; for ſo grievous has been the ſituation of Britiſh ſubjects in thoſe countries, that it was in fact in the power of the governor of Ben-

gal,

gal, whenever he pleaſed to deprive any one of ſo much of his property as laid within the Nabob's dominions, or even of his life; and it was impoſſible to obtain juſtice againſt ſuch offenders.

The only land which the Engliſh Eaſt India company legally held by a regular grant from a real Mogul, was that the emperor Tarrakhſeer granted them in the year 1717, which was not quite fifteen acres, where they eſtabliſhed their factories; conſequently all the tenures of ſuch territories and revenues, as have been taken by the Engliſh company beyond this grant, are not legally valid according to the conſtitution of the Mogul empire; but poſſeſſions acquired and held either by violence or uſurpation.

Lord Clive's farther ſecurity for his jaghire, was it ſeems the motive of the bold ſtep he took, in aſſuming the dewannee. In this ſtate of the company's affairs, before his laſt voyage to India, it was poſſible that the litigation reſpecting this jaghire, by which he had been made a Lord of the company's lands, which were thereby freed from all dependence, might be revived, or that even government might interfere therein. In caſe the company had been averſe to his lordſhip continuing in the enjoyment of it, he could never have obtained ſatisfaction from the [illegible] courts of Indoſtan, to which in the opinion of our moſt eminent lawyers, the point muſt at laſt have been referred for deciſion. Every ſtep therefore, tending farther to eſtabliſh the authority of the new made Mogul Shah Allum, as emperor, and to make the company appear to hold all they poſſeſſed under his ſanction, in confirming the grant

of

of his lordſhip's jaghire, added weight to his own claim; and the additional allowance of twenty-ſix lack of rupees per annum, which the noble preſident provided for this nominal emperor, was binding him by intereſt to his lordſhip's ſide. The judicious governor Vanſittart, with his council had towards the year 1764, eſtabliſhed a factory in the capital city of Banares, conſiſting of a chief and council for the collection of the revenues of that territory; this place was likewiſe more advantageouſly ſituated for increaſing the ſale of broad cloth and other ſtaple articles imported by the company than any other factory they poſſeſſed. Lord Clive and his ſecret committee, upon relinquiſhing this zemindary reſolved alſo to withdraw the factory; and without conſulting the ſervants of the company employed in that department, were pleaſed to fix the revenues of the country for the laſt year: they had reſolved the company ſhould poſſeſs it, at twenty lack of ruppees, tho' it is well known that the Rajah collected near four times that ſum. His brother was inclined to offer forty-five lack per annum, for that diſtrict, about the time it was given up by his lordſhip. In a very ſhort time the company might, without inuſtice or extortion, after making every equitable allowance to the zemindar, have collected fifty lack, and upon his demiſe, by keeping the lands in their own hands, it would have ſoon yielded eighty lacks or one million ſterling per annum.

When the Engliſh company aſſumed the ſovereignty of the Bengal provinces in 1765, Mr. Francis Sykes was appointed by the preſident and ſelect committee at Calcutta, the company's re-

ſident at the durbar, or the Nabob's court, at the capital of Murſhhadabad, to adjuſt the revenues of the provinces, and ſettle the arrears as jagheerders, as being a part of their buſineſs. This gentleman without any check, was likewiſe ſolely entruſted with the direction of the Nabob, and his officers ſuperintended the interior collections, and the adminiſtration of juſtice in countries more extenſive and more populous than Great Britain; at that very time this gentleman was chief of the company's factory at Caſſibezar, where moſt of their ſilk and great part of their other Bengal articles are provided.

The amount of the whole revenues of Bengal and its dependencies as adjuſted by Mr. Sykes in the ſame year 1765, was eſtimated three millions ſix hundred and thirty thouſand, ſix hundred and ſeventy-ſix pounds ſterling, valuing the ſicca rupees two ſhillings and eight pence; the ſame gentleman ſubſcribed to and declared it to be his opinion, that the whole would be collected in the year 1766, without oppreſſing the inhabitants. Lord Clive likewiſe gave his opinion upon this ſtatement of the Bengal revenues, in his letter to the court of directors, dated Calcutta the 30th of September 1765, in the following words.

"Your revenue, by means of this new acqui-
"ſition (meaning the Dewannee) will as near as I
"can judge, not fall ſhort for the enſuing year, of
"250 lacks of ſicca rupees, including your for-
"mer poſſeſſions of Burdewan, &c. hereafter they
"will at leaſt amount to 20 or 30 lacks more.
"Your civil and military expences in time of
"peace can never exceed 60 lacks of rupees. The

"Nabob's

" Nabob's allowances are already reduced to 42
" lacks, and the tribute to the king is fixed at
" 26, ſo that there will be remaining a clear gain
" to the company of 122 lacks of ſicca rupees,
" or 1,650,900l. ſterling, which will defray all the
" expences of the inveſtments, furniſh the whole
" of the China treaſure, anſwer the demands of all
" your other ſettlements in India, and leave a
" conſiderable balance in your treaſury beſides. In
" time of war, when the country may be ſubject
" to the incurſions of bodies of cavalry, we ſhall,
" notwithſtanding be able to collect a ſufficient
" ſum for our civil and military exigencies, and
" likewiſe for our inveſtments; becauſe a very
" rich part of the Bengal and Bahar dominions are
" ſituated to the eaſtward of the Ganges, where we
" can never be invaded. What I have given you
" is a real, not an imaginary ſtate of your reve-
" nues, and you may be aſſured they will not fall
" ſhort of my computation."

From theſe authorities, we may judge of the improveable ſtate of the revenues in Bengal, in the year 1765. They might eaſily without oppreſſion to the inhabitants, have been improved by this time to ſix millions ſterling; while by an improper management, they have yearly fallen ſhort of that very ſum, and will probably decreaſe, till an effectual ſyſtem of reformation be eſtabliſhed.

We are now to conſider a monopoly the moſt cruel in its nature, and moſt deſtructive in its conſequences to the company's affairs in Bengal, of all that have of late been eſtabliſhed there. Perhaps it ſtands unparalleled in the hiſtory of any government that ever exiſted on earth, conſidered as

a public act. When we conſider the man who promoted ſuch excluſive dealings in what may be there conſidered as neceſſaries of life, our aſtoniſhment is ſtill greater.

Lord Clive's profeſſions of diſintereſtedneſs to the directors, having influenced them to nominate him to the government of Bengal, with a ſelect committee conſiſting of his lordſhip, the preſident, Mr. William Birghtwell Sumner, brigadier general Carnac, Meſſieurs Harry Verelſt, and Francis Sykes. They were inveſted with powers to purſue whatever means they ſhould judge moſt proper to attain the deſirable ends of reſtoring and eſtabliſhing peace and tranquility in Bengal. The orders which the court of directors were pleaſed to give upon the ſubject of ſalt, beetle-nut and tobacco trade, in the letter to their preſidency at Bengal, dated the 1ſt of June 1764, were the following,

" You are hereby ordered and directed, as ſoon " after the receipt of this as may be convenient, " to conſult the Nabob, as to the manner of car- " rying on the inland trade in ſalt, beetle-nut and " tobacco, and the other articles produced and " conſumed in the country, which may be moſt to " his ſatisfaction and advantage, the intereſt of the " company, and likewiſe of the company's ſer- " vants.

" You are therefore to form a proper and equi- " table plan for carrying on the ſaid trade, and " tranſmit the ſame to us, accompanied with ſuch " explanations, obſervations and remarks, as may " enable us to give our ſentiments and directions " thereupon, in a full and explicit manner.

" In

" In doing this as before obſerved, you are to " have a particular regard to the intereſt and en- " tire ſatisfaction of the Nabob, both with reſpect " to his revenues and a proper ſupport of his go- " vernment; in ſhort, this plan muſt be ſettled " with his free will and conſent, and in ſuch a man- " ner as not to afford any juſt grounds of com- " plaints."

The great advantage to be made in Bengal, from a monopoly of theſe three articles, of ſalt, beetle-nut and tobacco, was among the firſt which the manoeuvres of the dewannee preſented to lord Clive and his aſſociate reformers, of which they did not fail to avail themſelves. All the company's ſervants, down to a certain rank, were put upon the liſt, without aſking their concurrence, or acquainting them with the particulars of the plan. Thus the committee, contrary to the orders and intentions of the court of directors, and to his lordſhip's moſt ſolemn declarations, determined on an univerſal monopoly of theſe three articles, the profits of which were to be divided amongſt themſelves, and ſuch others of the company's ſervants as they thought proper. Thus conſidering the monopoly even as a juſt eſtabliſhment, was a manifeſt injury to ſeveral of the junior ſervants, who from their own knowledge and induſtry, gained in a fair way of trade conſiderably more than the ſhare alloted to them by this ſyſtem produced. Moſt of them diſapproved the plan, but it would have been dangerous to have publicly expreſſed their diſcontent. They were obliged to ſign a long indenture, authorizing the committee of trade to conduct the buſineſs, though they did not know the particulars

of

of the plan; had any of the junior ſervants ſhewn a diſlike for this meaſure, he might have probably been diſmiſſed the ſervice. The proceedings of the ſelect committee on this occaſion were in ſubſtance as follows:

At a Committe held at Fort William the 10th of Auguſt 1765.

Preſent,

William Brightwell Sumner, Eſq; Preſident, and Verelſt Eſq.

It is now agreed,

Firſt, that the whole trade ſhall be carried on by an excluſive company formed for that purpoſe, and conſiſting of all thoſe who may be deemed juſtly intitled to a ſhare; that a proper fund ſhall be raiſed by a loan at intereſt for the ſupply and ſupport of the ſame, and that it ſhall commence in the month of September enſuing, or as ſoon as may be found moſt convenient.

2dly, That the ſalt, beetle nut and tobacco produced in or imported into Bengal, ſhall be purchaſed by this eſtabliſhed company, and public advertiſements ſhall be iſſued, ſtrictly prohibiting all other perſons whatſoever who are dependent on our government, to deal in theſe articles.

3dly, That application ſhall be made to the Nabob to iſſue the like prohibition to all his officers and ſubjects, of the diſtricts where any quantity of either of thoſe articles is manufactured or produced.

By

y the fourth, ſalt was to be purchaſed by contract on the moſt reaſonable terms giving the preference to the factories of Decca, Chittigong, Burdwan and Midnipore for the produce of their reſpective diſtricts and to ſuch perſons as may offer the moſt reaſonable propoſals for the quaintity produced in the alcutta lands.

By the fifth, the beetle nut and tobacco was in like manner to be purchaſed, by contract upon the levies moſt conformable to the intereſt of the concerned.

By the eighth, the ſalt, beetle nut and tobacco this purchaſed by the public company was to be tranſported to certain peculiar places for ſale to be there only diſpoſed of by their agents.

By the ninth article, it was agreed, that application ſhould be made to the Engliſh for pervannahs, ſtrictly ordering the inhabitants of the diſtricts of Decca and Chittigong, to contract for all the ſalt that can be made on their lands with the Engliſh alone, and forbidding the ſale to any other perſons whatſoever.

Several other articles being ſettled, advertiſements wrote in different languages were poſted up in ſeveral parts of the town, for limiting the inland trade in the three articles mentioned, and veſting an excluſive right to carry it on in a ſociety of proprietors by a pretended authority from the company, with the Nabob's acquieſcence. All perſons dependent upon the company's government, were ſtrictly prohibited from dealing directly or indirectly in ſalt, beetle nut and tobacco, unleſs as contractors for the purchaſe and ſale of theſe articles, with the ſociety of trade.

Thirdly

Thirdly, after another ſelect committee was held upon the ſubject of this monopoly, of whoſe proceedings the following is an extract:

At a ſelect Committee held at Fort William the 18th September 1765.

Preſent. The right honourable lord Clive, preſident, William B. Sumner, John Carnac, Harry Verelſt, and Francis Sykes Eſqrs.

Reſuming the conſideration of the plan for carrying on the inland trade, the committee are unanimouſly of opinion, that whatever ſurplus money the company may find themſelves poſſeſſed of, after diſcharging their ſeveral demands. At this preſidency, the ſame will be employed more to their benefit and advantage in ſupplying largely that valuable branch of their commerce, the China trade, and in aſſiſting the wants of their other ſettlements, and and that it will be more for their intereſt to be conſidered as ſuperiors of this trade; and receive a handſome duty upon it, than to be engaged as proprietors in the ſtock; it is agreed that the inland trade of the above articles ſhall be ſubject to a duty to the company, after the following rates, calculated according to the advantage which might be expected to accrue to the proprietors.

On ſalt, thirty-five per cent, valuing the hundred maunds (a valuable weight in Bengal from 70 to 80 pounds) at the rate of ninety Arcot rupees, and in conſideration thereof the preſent callery duty to be aboliſhed: callery is a ſalt work.

On beetle nut, ten per cent on the prime coſt.

On tobacco, twenty-five per cent on ditto.

With reſpect to the proprietors, it was reſolved to arrange them into three claſſes, each claſs to be in-

be entitled to ſo many ſhares in the ſtock agreed upon, in order to aſcertain the value of each ſhare.

According to this ſcheme, it was agreed that the firſt claſs ſhould conſiſt of the governors five ſhares, the ſecond in council three ſhares, the general three ſhares, ten gentlemen of the council two ſhares each, two colonels two ſhares each; in all, thirty-five ſhares for the firſt claſs.

The ſecond claſs conſiſted of the chaplain, two lieutenant-colonels, fourteen ſenior and junior merchants, entitled to eighteen ſhares.

The third claſs conſiſting of factors, majors and ſurgeons; in all thirty three, were entitled to nine ſhares.

Among the plauſible reaſons alledged for the eſtabliſhment of this monopoly, it was ſaid to be intended as a means to prevent the oppreſſion of the inhabitants of the country; to remove the general odium which had prevailed, of the Engliſh ſeeking to deprive them of every part of their trade, and to render all poſſible ſatisfaction to the court of directors.

The private reaſons aſſigned by lord Clive, for this eſtabliſhment, in a ſeperate letter to the court of directors, are no leſs aſtoniſhing; they are as follow.

Par. 16. "The neceſſity of rewarding the ſuperior ſervants, both civil and military, is obvious, ſince the large inveſtment required by the company makes it impoſſible for individuals who perform their duty to acquire any thing conſiderable by private trade. The means of regulating this reward have frequently employed my attention, and

after the moſt mature deliberation, I have found none ſo convenient, proper or equitable as the trade in ſalt. If you grant a commiſſion upon the revenues the ſum will not only be large but known to the world. The allowance being publicly aſcertained, every man's proportion will at all times be the occaſion of much diſcourſe, envy and jealouſy. The great will interfere in your appointments, and noblemen will perpetually ſolicit you to provide for the younger branches of their families. A commiſſion upon your inveſtment, whether upon the proviſion in Bengal, or the ſales in Europe, is liable to the ſame objections. But if you allow your ſervants the liberty of benefiting themſelves by the trade in ſalt, the following conveniencies will reſult.

Par. 17. 1mo. "An advance of four hundred thouſand or five hundred thouſand pounds is required for carrying on the trade. If it be carried on by your ſervants, the advance and the riſk will be theirs: if it be carried on by you, the money muſt be advanced out of the treaſury, at your riſk, and you will conſequently have the loſs ſpecies to ſend home.

Par. 18. ddo. "It is very eaſy to proportion it in ſuch a manner that your ſervants ſhall not gain to a larger amount than they are in juſtice and equity entitled to.

Par. 19. 3to. "By the bringing it to Calcutta and Dacca, and by the loſs of boats, by the failure of contractors and many other accidents, the profits muſt always be precarious and uncertain, and conſequently unknown, except to the few who may take the trouble to inveſtigate the matter.

Par.

Par. 20. 4to. "It will be looked upon as a profit ariſing from trade, and not from the pockets of the company, which might be urged, if rewards were given out of the revenues. But here you can aſſert, that this indulgence, the only equitable one you have to grant, is in conſideration of the large inveſtments ordered, which, if complied with, muſt ſwallow up the trade of individuals; and indeed, if this indulgence be properly proportioned, all thoſe ſervants, who by their age and ſtanding are entitled to emoluments, would have no reaſon to complain, even were they altogether excluded from every article of trade which can interfere with the company's inveſtments.

Par. 22. "It is an erroneous opinion, that ſalt was formerly an open trade, it ever was, and ever muſt be a monopoly. Some great favourite *, or favourites always had the whole in their own hands, for which he not only paid an annual Peſh-

* In the time of the Nabob Allaverdy Khawn, his favourite, Cogee Wazeed, was irregularly allowed to farm the trade in ſalt: but that merchant ſold his ſalt then at five hundred per cent. cheaper than it was ſold after the eſtabliſhment by this committee of the monopoly now under conſideration. In many parts of Bengal, Cogee Wazeed uſed to ſell his ſalt for forty, fifty, or ſixty rupees per hundred maunds: and at Patna before this monopoly took place, at one time, the market price of ſalt was ſo low as one hundred and fifty rupees per hundred Maunds. After this monopoly was eſtabliſhed, ſalt was ſold in many parts of Bengal for upwards of three hundred rupees per hundred maunds, and in ſome parts of the Patna province it was raiſed to upwards of eight hundred and fifty rupees per hundred maunds.

cuſh, or acknowledgment in money to the Subah, but likewiſe gave conſiderable preſents both in money and curioſities to him and to his miniſters. But the natives can have no juſt cauſe of complaint, provided they be furniſhed with this article more reaſonably than formerly, which will certainly be the caſe, if the plan ſent home by the Cruttenden be adopted with a few amendments."

And in the general letter from the ſelect committee of Calcutta to the court of directors, dated the 30th September 1765, ſigned by the right honourable lord Clive, William Brightwell Sumner, John Carnac, Harry Verelſt and Francis Sykes, Eſquires, after a more mature conſideration of this buſineſs, they give their ſentiments in the following words:

Par. 32. "By conſulting our proceedings of the 10th of Auguſt and 18th September 1765, you will be able to judge of the progreſs we have made in carrying your orders into execution relative to the trade in ſalt, beetle-nut and tobacco. This ſubject we conſidered with all the attention poſſible, and regard to your intereſt and the good of the ſervice. We found, that to remove the inconveniencies of a free trade, prevent the oppreſſions daily committed, ſave this valuable article of commerce from ruin, and diffuſe the benefits reſulting, indiſcriminately, among all your ſervants intitled to duſtucks, it was neceſſary to veſt the whole in an excluſive company."

The ſelect committee having formed thoſe regulations for the carrying on of this trade, Mr. Sumner, Mr. Verelſt and two other gentlemen of coun-

cil

cil were accordingly conſtituted a committee of trade, for receiving charge of the plan and managing it, on behalf of the body of proprietors; with authority to correſpond with the ſubordinate factories, and to purſue all ſuch meaſures as might, conformably thereto, appear to them eligible and proper. And the neceſſary advices and orders were accordingly given to the ſubordinates, and publications of prohibition were iſſued throughout the provinces.

The capital ſtock appointed by the ſelect committee to be raiſed for carrying on this trade, originally was current rupees 2,422,333—5—4, or at 26 pence per current rupee, 262,420l. ſterling; which was divided into 56¾ ſhares of 43,000 current rupees each ſhare, and the profits which might ariſe were appointed to be proportionably diſtributed as follows.

	Perſons.	Shares each.	Total Shares.	Capital Stock.
To the Right Hon. L. Clive	1	5	5	215,000
William Brightwell Sumner, Eſq;	1	3	3	129,000
General Carnac	1	3	3	129,000
To ten Counſellors and two Colonels.	12	2	24	1,032,000
				1,505,000 0 0
To Chaplain, ſenior and junior Merchants and Lieut. Cols.	18	2-3d.	12	516,000 0 0
To Factors, Majors and Surgeons.	28	1-3d.	9 1-3d.	401,333 5 4
Perſons	61		56 1-3d.	C. rup. 2,422,333 5 4

The farce of uſing the Nabob's name was thought convenient to be played, as is uſual in all dark

dark acts of this double government. The reader will have perceived, as well in the proceedings of the committee as in the foregoing Engliſh advertiſement, that this Nabob, if he muſt be ſo called, is introduced as joining with the committee, and conſenting to the ruin of his ſubjects, the poor people of the country, who could not, for that reaſon, pretend to, or entertain even a hope of redreſs.

This Nabob, therefore, was actually made to iſſue orders to all the zemindars, or hereditary landholders of the country, to attend at Calcutta, and enter into bond, to trade with the committee only. An order of the committee, to the ſame purpoſe, went forth at the ſame time: and the zemindars were forced to repair to Calcutta, and enter into bonds accordingly, of which orders and bonds the following are copies.

Tranſlation from the Perſian, of the Nabob's order, to one of the zemindars of the country, dated the of Saffer, or the Auguſt 1765.

"To the gomaſtah of Luckynarain, chowdry of the Pergunnah of Jollamoota. Be it underſtood, that a requeſt has been made by the governor and the gentlemen of the committee and council, to this porport, "that until the contracts for ſalt of the ſaid gentlemen are ſettled, no ſalt ſhall be made, or got ready in any diſtrict; that a gomaſtah be ſent to attend on the ſaid gentlemen, and having given a bond, he may then proceed to his buſineſs, and make ſalt; but till the bond be given

given to the governor and the gentlemen of the committee and council, they ſhould make none." Therefore, this order is written, that you ſend, without delay, your gomaſtah to the ſaid gentlemen in Calcutta, and give your bond, and ſettle your buſineſs; and then proceed to the making of ſalt. In caſe of any delay, it will not be for your good. Regard this as a ſtrict order."

Tranſlation, from the Perſian, of an order to one of the zemindars, under the ſeal of the committee.

The Seal of | The Engliſh Society of Merchants for buying and ſelling all the Salt, Beetle-nut and Tobacco in the Province of Bengal, Bahar and Oriſſa, &c. | the Committee.

"Truſty and well beloved, Anundelal, we greet you well. Whereas it has been reſolved, that whatever ſalt ſhall be procurable in the ſalt works of the ſubahſhip of Bengal, &c. the trade thereof ſhall be referred to the Engliſh Sircar*, and ſhall not be meddled with by others; to which purpoſe a Perwannah from his excellency, the Nabob, has iſſued.

"Therefore this order is written, that the moment it reaches your hands you are to ſend a Vakeel

* State or government. Here it means the company.

keel and a truſty Gomaſtah, that he may come here and receive the Nabob's Perwanah and act in obedience to the ſame, and ſettle the trade of your ſalt with the governor and the gentlemen."

Tranſlation of one of the Mutchulcahs, or obligatory bonds, taken from the Zemindars.

"I Jadooram, Chowdry of the Pergunnah of Deroodumna, in the diſtrict of Ingellee, agreeably to an order which has iſſued from the Nabob to this purpoſe, "That I ſhould attend upon the gentlemen of the committee and council, in order to ſettle my trade in ſalt, and that I ſhould not deal with any other perſon;" do accordingly oblige myſelf, and give this writing, that, excepting the ſaid gentlemen called, The Engliſh ſociety of merchants for buying and ſelling all the ſalt, beetle-nut, and tobacco in the provinces of Bengal, Bahar and Oriſſa, &c. I will on no account trade with any other perſon for the ſalt to be made in the year 1173 (Bengal ſtile); and without their order I will not otherwiſe make away with, or diſpoſe of a ſingle grain of ſalt; but whatever ſalt ſhall be made within the dependencies of my Zemindary, I will faithfully deliver it all, without delay, to the ſaid ſociety, and I will receive the money according to the agreement which I ſhall make in writing: and I will deliver the whole and entire quantity of the ſalt produced, and, without the leave of the ſaid committee, I will not carry to any other place, nor ſell to any other perſon a ſingle meaſure of ſalt. If ſuch a thing ſhould be proved againſt me, I will

pay

pay to the Sircar of the ſaid ſociety a penalty of five rupees for every maund. In witneſs whereof I have written this, by way of obligation. Dated the September 1765.

Orders of this kind were iſſued to all the Rajahs and Zemindars of the Pergunnahs where ſalt was to be had; by virtue of which the produce of the whole country was engroſſed by the committee, who paid at the rate of 75 rupees per 100 maunds, for what was ſold in many places for upwards of 500 rupees per 100 maunds; which in effect was making a poor inhabitant pay at the rate of 6 1-half rupees for a quantity of ſalt which, in the common courſe of the trade, he would have bought for one rupee.

The extraordinary ſhares of the profits of this public monopoly to which the ſelect committee-gentlemen helped themſelves, were not the only advantages they reaped from it. From the regulations which they in their ſelect committee, had previouſly agreed upon, they were firſt apprized of the ſudden effects which thoſe regulations could not fail of producing, in raiſing the price of ſalt all over the country. They therefore availed themſelves of this fore-knowledge, and eſtabliſhed a private ſociety among themſelves, for buying up as much as they could of the ready-made ſalt, which lay diſperſed in different parts. Mr. Vereliſt who conducted this ſeparate concern, and was one of their committee, under the cloke uſually aſſumed on ſuch extraordinary occaſions, of its being for the benefit of the company's affairs, was (at his own recommendation) appointed to a new and un-

precedented employment, that of ſupervifor of the provinces of Burdwan and Midnipore, where great quantities of ſalt are produced. This gave Mr. Verelſt an opportunity of aſſociating himſelf with the junior ſervants under him at Burdwan, in a contract for delivering to the committee all the ſalt produced in that province, which he accordingly did; as may be ſeen in the copy of an indenture executed with the committee upon this occaſion.

The concerned in the ſaid private ſociety, which was very extenſive in its operations, were the right honourable lord Clive, William Brightwell Sumner, general John Carnac, Harry Verelſt and Francis Sykes, eſquires.

No means were neglected, by the gentlemen concerned in this private ſociety, to engroſs the whole of the ready-made ſalt in the country: and ſuch methods were ſometimes taken by their agents, or gomaſtahs, as obliged the owners to part with what ſalt they had on hand for whatever thoſe agents were pleaſed to offer. And tho' the intereſt of the country and company were alledged on other occaſions to be greatly injured by permitting European agents to reſide in the inland parts of the country, nevertheleſs, upon the preſent occaſion, thoſe pretended inconveniencies were overlooked; and in conſequence of an application from the committee of trade to the ſelect committe, ſeveral gentlemen were appointed and ſtationed at the following different places, as agents for the ſales of the committee's ſalt, beetle-nut, and tobacco: viz.

Meſſrs.

Meſſrs.	Charles Blomer	at Dinagepore,
	Pitt Lethieulier,	Burgunga,
	Hugh Baillie,	Gulparah,
	Thomas Lewis,	Rungpore,
	William Benſley,	Carangola,
	John Robinſon,	Nabobgunge,
	James Hargrave,	Chilmary,
	John Corſar,	Silhett and Patna,
	William Semple,	Rajabarry,
	Abraham Leſlie,	beſides others,

who were ſent to Backergunge and Nabobgunge to build boats.

The gentlemen concerned in the private ſociety did not fail to avail themſelves of the ſervices of theſe agents of the public monopoly, for the diſpoſal of their private ſalt. In conſequences of an application for that purpoſe from the partners in the committee of Trade below, to the partners in the ſelect committee above, licence was eaſily obtained, as may be ſeen by the following ſhort proceedings upon the occaſion.

"At a ſelect committee, held the 9th of January, 1766;

Preſent, the right honourable lord Clive, preſident, William Brightwell Sumner, Eſq; and brigadier general Carnac.

Received a letter from the committee of trade, requeſting leave for their agents to diſpoſe of the

balances of ſalt belonging to private merchants, now on hand, which they imagine will conduce to the intereſt of the ſociety.

Agreed, we acquaint the committee of trade, that we grant their requeſt, in conſideration they think it will be a public benefit."

The eſtimate of the profits ariſing upon the firſt year's trade of this public monopoly, which among other India papers was laid before the honourable houſe of commons, in the year 1768, was greatly under rated. The real net profits on the firſt year's ſtock which have been actually received by the concerned, down to the month of December 1770, excluſive of their ſhares of large outſtanding debts ſtill coming in, have been nearly as follow. viz.

	Perſons.	Shares each.	Total Shares.	Neat profit of the firſt year's capital.
The Rt. Hon. Rob. Ld. Clive	1	5	5	£. ſterling 21,179 4 0
William Brightwell, Sumner, Eſq;	1	3	3	12,707 10 0
General Carnac	1	3	3	12,707 10 0
Ten Counſellors and two Colonels	12	2	24	101,660 4 0
Chaplain, ſenior and junior merchts, and lieut. cols.	18	2-3ds	12	50,830 2 0
Factors, majors, and doctors	28	1-3d	9 1-3d	39,[illegible]
Perſons 61			56 1-3d	£. ſterling 238,[illegible]

† The court of Eaſt-India directors repeatedly, and in the ſtrongeſt terms, forbade this monopoly in ſalt, beetle-nut and tobacco; and particularly in their general letter to Bengal per the lord Camb-

den,

den, dated the 19th February 1766, wherein they poſitively directed their governor and council to make a formal renunciation, by ſome ſolemn act to be entered on their records, of all right to trade in thoſe articles; directing their ſaid Preſidency to tranſmit ſuch renunciation in form to the Nabob, in the Perſian language, with adding theſe expreſs words: "Whatever government may be eſtabliſhed, or whatever unforeſeen occurrences may ariſe, it is our reſolution to prohibit, and we do abſolutely forbid this trade in ſalt, beetle-nut, and tobacco."

In all their ſubſequent letters they continued to repeat this prohibition, giving as their ſentiments, that "ſuch innovations and illegal traffic had laid the foundation of all the bloodſhed, maſſacres and confuſion which had happened in Bengal.

Upon receipt of theſe repeated orders from England, the right honourable preſident and the gentlemen of the ſelect committee took them again into their ſerious conſideration. However, they did not proceed to aboliſh the monopoly, but determined upon continuing it for another year; wiſely increaſing the duties to be received upon the trade by the company, to ſuch an amount as might either ſecure their conſent and approbation of the ſyſtem, from the magnitude of the ſum, or their connivance at it, ſo far as to prevent retroſpects, from the difficulties of refunding, and of being themſelves ſo deeply involved in the plan.

As the reaſons which were given for this continuation of the monopoly are no leſs curious than thoſe which were given for its original eſtabliſhment, and will beſt ſpeak for themſelves to the intelligent

telligent reader, we ſhall give them at large from the original proceedings.

" At a ſelect committee, held the 30 September 1766.

Preſent, The right honourable lord Clive, preſident; brigadier general Carnac, and Harry Verelſt, eſquire.

After mentioning, that the Court of directors had recommended to his lordſhip, to conſider of a plan for ſettling the ſalt trade, his lordſhip proceeds in his minute as follows. " By all their letters of laſt year, and by ſeveral of this, the directors ſtill ſeemed inclined to wait for our repreſentation, but by their letter of the 19th February laſt, by the lord Cambden, they poſitively forbid their ſervants to have any concern whatſoever in this trade. At that time indeed, they could not have had the leaſt idea of the favourable change in the affairs of theſe provinces, whereby the intereſt of the Nabob with regard to ſalt is no longer immediately concerned. When we firſt took this important matter into conſideration, I joined in opinion with the reſt of the committee, that if the trade could be put upon ſuch a footing, that the Nabob ſhould receive more than had been received by any of his predeceſſors, the company be amply conſidered, the natives become purchaſers upon terms full as reaſonable as in former times; the ſervants might be indulged in the privilege, under ſuch certain rules and reſtrictions as would make the trade carry with it as little as poſſible the odious

odious form of a monopoly, Theſe points having been ſettled, I conſented to the plan laid down laſt year; my abſence from the preſidency, the multiplicity of affairs then in agitation, wherein the peace and tranquillity of the provinces, the intereſt of the company, and the honour of the nation were more immediately concerned, prevented my paying that attention I could have wiſhed to that important object. Although by the acquiſition of the Dewannee, the whole of the duties belong to the company, and by the diligence and zeal of the members of the committee of trade, many uſeful reformations had taken place, yet from my obſervations, when I was laſt up the country, and from the heavy complaints againſt Europeans for the monopoly of trade in general, I find that the induſtrious native is ſtill deprived of that ſhare to which he has an undoubted and more natural right; nor is it yet upon that equitable footing which juſtice as well as humanity would incline this committee to eſtabliſh. A few weeks more muſt bring us the final reſolution of the court of directors, in anſwer to our diſpatches by the admiral Stevens, and if, notwithſtanding the preſent ſituation of their affairs, they ſhould think proper to repeat their orders per lord Cambden, it will be our duty to obey them, and I am perſuaded they will be obeyed by this committee: but if, on the contrary, upon receipt of our repreſentations, they ſhould change their ſentiments, and approve of the regulations we have already made, no time ſhould be loſt on our part in eſtabliſhing the mode for carrying on the trade in future. The confidence which the directors have been pleaſed particular-

cularly to expreſs in my endeavours to ſettle, upon an equitable plan, that trade which has been the ſource of ſo many evils, cannot but promote my zeal for the cauſe, and make me anxiouſly wiſh to ſee every regulation that you may join with me in thinking neceſſary to take place.

" The company's duties I beg leave to propoſe ſhould be increaſed; the ſervants ſtill receive a reaſonable ſhare of emolument, and the terms upon which the natives are finally to be concerned, advantageouſly fixed.

" 1ſt. That all ſalt provided by the ſociety of trade ſhall be ſold at Calcutta, and at other places where it is made, and no where elſe.

" 2d. That the price of ſalt ſhall not exceed two rupees per maund, or 200 for 100 maunds.

" 3d. That the ſalt ſhall be ſold to the natives only, who are to tranſport it to every part of Bengal, Bahar and Oriſſa, and to have the whole profits ariſing from the ſale thereof, and that no company's ſervant, free merchant, or European, ſhall be concerned in that article directly or indirectly.

4th. " That the Calcutta and black merchants ſhall be limited to a certain proportion of purchaſe, but that no banyans or ſervants whatever belonging to any European, ſhall be included or have any concern therein.

" 5th. That every endeavour be made use of to encourage the ſubſtantial merchant either to come down in perſon to the place where the ſalt is provided, or to ſend their agents, in order to purchaſe or tranſport their ſalt to the different places of ſale.

" 6th. That a certain price be fixed for the ſale of every maund of ſalt at every town, market or village,

village, where the ſalt is ſold, according to the diſtance and former cuſtom.

" 7th. That if ſalt be ſold at any of the bazar's or markets for one cowry above the ſtipulated price, the vender ſhall not only forfeit all the ſalt there found in his poſſeſſion, but, be liable to a forfeit of one thouſand rupees for every hundred maunds of ſalt ſo ſold; and the money ſo forfeited ſhall go, one half to the informer and one half to the government.

" 8th. That the miniſters at Murſhedabad and Patna have copies ſent them of theſe new regulations, and that they be deſired to apply to the Nabob to make the ſame known throughout the three provinces; and that every Fowzdar, &c. ſee that they be put in execution, upon pain of being diſmiſſed from their employments.

" 9th. This buſineſs being entirely commercial, I propoſe that in the inſtrument of agreement for next year it ſhall be provided, that the ſociety of trade be anſwerable to the board for their conduct; that the board may either make new regulations, or amend thoſe made by the ſociety of trade, as they ſee fit, and that, in caſe of neceſſity, the ſelect committee ſhall have power to controul the whole.

" 10th. That a duty of 50 per cent. be paid to the company upon all the ſalt provided on their own lands, and 50 per cent. to the government upon all the ſalt provided upon the lands of the government, and 15 per cent. upon beetle: which duties will in fact be brought to the company's credit, which, according to the preſent ſtate of the

ſalt trade will produce the company from 12 to 13 lacks of rupees per annum.

" The prohibition of a free inland trade, however diſagreeable to individuals, muſt now take place, and be confined to imports and exports, and their immediate returns, which returns ſhall be made only to the preſidency, or to one or other of the eſtabliſhed factories. The company are ſovereigns in India; and they have declared, that the trade carried on for theſe four years paſt is an uſurpation, not only of their prerogative, but of the privileges of the natives, and repugnant to the expreſs and repeated orders of the court of directors. The indulgence however in the trade of ſalt upon the footing I hope it will be now eſtabliſhed, ſhould in my opinion, obviate all complaints, ſince it ſeems to be the moſt equitable modus between the company and their ſervants, and at the ſame time a diſtribution of natural right to the people of the country. Conſidering that the late great advantages of unlimited trade are cut off, I cannot imagine the court of directors will deny their ſervants this ſhare of benefit, as a recompenſe for their care and aſſiſtance in the management of the important concerns of theſe provinces. On the other hand, I would have the ſervants look upon theſe emoluments as a gift from the hands of their employers, offered to them annually in reward of their fidelity; and which will certainly be with-held from them, if ever their authority ſhould be reſiſted, and diſcontent and rapacity take place of gratitude and moderation."

His lordſhip's minute being read and maturely conſidered, the regulations therein ſpecified are unanimouſly approved."

The

The capital ſtock for the ſecond year was divided into ſixty ſhares, and amounted to current rupees 2,400,000, or, at 26 pence per rupee, 260,000 pounds ſterling. And the profits which have actually accrued upon this ſecond year's capital, and been received by the proprietors upon their reſpective ſhares, down to the month of December 1770, excluſive of balances ſtill out-ſtanding, are as follow, viz.

	Shares	£.	s.	d.
On the Rt. hon. ld. Clive's	5	16,656	5	0
W. Brightwell Sumner, eſq; his	3	9,993	15	0
Brigadier gen. Carnac's	3	9,993	15	0
The reſt of the ſervants	49	163,231	5	0
	60	£. 199,875	0	0

The reader will doubtleſs have obſerved in the former part of this account, that an authority for eſtabliſhing this monopoly was pretended to have been received from the Nabob, and that his intereſt, or that of the country government, was to be properly attended to, particularly as expreſſed in the proceedings of the 10th Auguſt 1765, by conſidering him either as a proprietor, or by an annual preſent, to be computed upon inſpecting a ſtatement of his duties on ſalt in former years. Notwithſtanding which, in the 8th and 10th articles agreed to in the ſelect committee of the 3d September 1766, we find the Nabob's officers throughout the three provinces, were to be diſ-

miſſed from their employments, in caſe they did not carry into execution the regulations reſolved on by the committee: and we are told, that the duties eſtabliſhed upon this trade in the Nabob's name would, in fact, be brought to the credit of the company, as being the ſovereigns in India. Contradictions of this nature will be frequently obſerved in the courſe of theſe ſheets, as well in the proceedings of the directors, as in thoſe of their ſervants abroad, ſince the farce of their double government commenced; for it is a difficult thing conſiſtently to ſupport a falſity, or fiction, through a variety of circumſtances at different and diſtant periods of time.

Many and various were the oppreſſions exerciſed in the conducting of both the public and private monopolies, of which we are now treating: to enumerate them would be a diſagreeable and tedious, if not an endleſs taſk; nevertheleſs in ſupport of the truth of this aſſertion, we will briefly mention a few circumſtances.

In the 6th and 7th articles of the regulations eſtabliſhed by the ſelect committee, in their proceedings of the 3d September 1766, it is ordained, that the ſalt of the ſecond year's monopoly ſhould be ſold at certain prices, to be fixed at every town or village, and that if any of the perſons who were purchaſers of the committee's ſalt, ſhould ſell any at thoſe markets for one cowry above the ſtipulated price, the vender ſhould not only forfeit all the ſalt found in his poſſeſſion there, but be liable to a forfeit of one thouſand rupees for every hundred maunds of ſalt ſo ſold; and the ſalt money ſo forfeited

feited ſhould go, one half to the informer, and one half to the government.

In conſequence of this regulation, many merchants were fined in a very arbitrary manner, particularly ſome of the principal black merchants of Calcutta, as Sooberambyſack, Moddundutt and others, who had purchaſed of the committee ſalt to a very large amount, and were accuſed of having ſold at above the preſcribed price. The ſelect committee, in the ſummary way adopted by themſelves, without any judicial form, or proceſs whatever, collected among theſe merchants to the amount of ſome thouſands of pounds, which were ſaid to have been appropriated in as arbitrary a manner to the erecting of the court houſe, a public building in Calcutta.

Upon the eſtabliſhment of the private copartnerſhip, or ſociety, of the gentlemen of the committee among themſelves, there was an Armenian merchant, named Parſeek Arratoon, who had about 20,000 maunds of ſalt lying in warehouſes, upon the borders of the Rungpore and Dinagepore provinces. The Armenian, ſenſible, as well as the gentlemen of the committee, that the price of ſalt would riſe, ordered his gomaſtah to faſten up his warehouſes, and not to ſell. As the retailing of this ſalt in thoſe parts might hurt the partnerſhip's ſales, it was thought expedient at any rate, if poſſible, to get poſſeſſion of it. Upon failure of the artifices which were practiſed to induce the gomaſtah to ſell it, the Armenian merchant's warehouſes were broke open, the ſalt forcibly taken out and weighed off, and a ſum of money, eſtimated to be the price of it, was forced upon the Armenian's

menian's gomaſtah, on his refuſing to receive it. Such are the facts ſworn to in the depoſitions of ſeveral witneſſes, upon an action, or bill of complaint filed in the mayor's court of Calcutta, the 15th September 1767, by Parſeek Arratoon, plaintiff, againſt the gomaſtahs, or agents of Meſſ. Verelſt and Sykes, for current rupees 60,432. And if the proceedings of the mayor's court have been tranſmitted home with the ſame punctual regularity as formerly, there muſt be ſufficient proof of theſe facts among the records now in Leaden-hall-ſtreet.

Having laid before the reader an account of what have been the actual and realiſed profits of the two years trade of this grand monopoly, we will now endeavour to ſhew, at one view, the amount of what the natives may be juſtly ſaid to have been fleeced of in that ſpace of time, notwithſtanding the pious profeſſions of the ſelect committee, that they ſhould be ſupplied as reaſonably as before.

The amount of the capital ſtock employed the firſt year, is current rupees, 2,422,333 5 4 or, at 2s. 2d. per C. R, £ ſterl.			262,420	0	0
Ditto, C. R. 2,400,000 at Do. 2d year			260,000	0	0
					522,420
Profit, viz.					
On the Rt. Hon. Lord Clive's 5 ſhares, the firſt year	21,170	4 0			
Ditto, 2d year	16,656	5 0			
			37,835	9	
On William Brightwell Sumner, Eſq; his three ſhares, the firſt year	12,707	10 0			
Ditto, 2d year	9,993	15 0			
			22,701	5	
On General Carnac's 3 ſhares, the firſt year	12,707	10 0			
Ditto, 2d year	9,993	15 0			
			22,701	5	0
Carried forward			83,237	19	0 522,420

On

	Brought over	88,237 19 0	522,420
On the reſt of the Company's ſervants, 45 1-3d ſhares, the firſt year — —	192,024 16 0		
Ditto, 49 ſhares, 2d year —	163,231 5 0		
		355,256 1 0	
			438,494
Total of the firſt coſt and profit for two years — —			960,914
Extraordinary duties to be paid in two years to the Nabob, the country government, or the Engliſh company, whichſoever the reader pleaſes to call it, 26 lacks, at 2s. 2d. per current rupee — — —			281,666
Extraordinary charges beyond the common courſe of the trade, to which the committee was expoſed from the employment of European agents and other cauſes, eſtimated at leaſt at 6 lacks, or — —			65,000
Outſtanding debts on the two years trade, which have been or will be recovered by the influence of the country government, eſtimated, to the time of the above calculation of profits, at 20 lacks, or — —			108,332
Total received from the natives —			1,415,913
Deduct,			
Firſt coſt of thoſe commodities for two years		£. 522,420	
Allowance for what the profits would have been in the uſual and fair way of trade, as practiſed when the monopoly took place at 30 per cent. — —		156,726	
Duties which might have been collected in the uſual manner on this trade, in the ſtate it then was, for two years: we will make a large allowance in the ſum of —		60,000	
To this muſt be added what was ſeparately gained by the under-monopolizer's; who, agreeably to the regulations, purchaſed ſalt, &c. in the groſs from the committee, being chiefly banyans of the gentlemen themſelves, and who tranſported it to and retailed it in the inland country. The net profits under this head may be juſtly eſtimated, upon ſalt and betle-nut, at leaſt at 12 lacks, or —		130,000	
			859,146
Ariſing on the public monopoly —			556,767
To which muſt be added the concerns of the ſeparate private ſociety, among the gentlemen of the ſelect committee, already mentioned, as far only as has come to public knowledge, viz.			
Carried forward		859,146 00	556,767

	Brought over 859,146 0 0	556,767
One concern, as taken notice of by the Right Honourable Lord Clive —— of 497,001 Maunds,		
And of one other, —— 40,000		
Maunds, 537,001. Upon which we may ſafely allow the gentlemen to have gained, at the loweſt eſtimation, a clear profit of two current rupees per maund, making 1,074,002 rupees, at 2s. 2d. ——		116,350
		L. 673,117

By this eſtimate, which we hope will be allowed very juſt by all perſons acquainted with the branch of which we treat, it appears, that upon the trade of two years there has been to the amount of ſix hundred and ſeventy-three thouſand one hundred and ſeventeen pounds ſterling collected for the benefit of about ſixty perſons, from the natives in general, upon this ſingle monopoly of what are conſidered there to be all neceſſaries of life, (and the moſt material one is actually ſuch in all countries) more than they would have paid for the ſame, had the trade continued open and free to all who paid the eſtabliſhed duties.

In a country where the nature of commerce is ſo well underſtood, it muſt be needleſs to ſwell this account, already too long, with ſuch inferences, drawn from the facts here laid before the public, as muſt appear obvious to every one at the firſt view. Every merchant will agree with us in one general concluſion, that ſuch a monopoly muſt have been in the higheſt degree injurious to the population and manufactures of the country; and we will venture to aſſert, that, above all others, it has principally contributed to that deceaſe of trade, and the diſtreſs under which Bengal has laboured

boufed ever ſince the eſtabliſhment of this monopoly.

We had almoſt forgot, before we diſmiſſed this head of our ſubject, to put the reader in poſſeſſion of a key for the underſtanding of ſuch parts of the proceedings of the committees herein taken notice of, as were calculated to evade the carrying into execution of the orders of the Eaſt India directors reſpecting this trade.

Soon after the eſtabliſhment of the monopoly, the right honourable lord Clive and the gentlemen of the committees and council (apprehenſive that they ſhould not receive the approbation of the directors of the company for this eſtabliſhment) entered into an indenture, or bond of indemnity to each other, by which they engaged, under a conſiderable penalty, That "provided any order or direction ſhould iſſue or be made by the ſaid court of directors in England, thereby ordering and directing the ſaid excluſive joint trade and merchandize to be diſſolved or put to an end, or that might hinder and ſtop the carrying on the ſame, or contain any thing contrary to their regulations, they, the ſaid right honourable lord Clive, &c. members of the committees and council, ſhould and would, notwithſtanding any ſuch order or direction, keep up, continue and enforce, or cauſe to be kept up, continued and enforced, the ſaid excluſive joint trade and merchandize."

After conſidering the farces of the Dewanne's and the laſt treaties with the Nabob's of Bengal, the profeſſions of the moſt implicit obedience to the orders of the court of Eaſt India directors, and of attention to the intereſts of the Nabob and the

welfare of the native inhabitants, as made uſe of in the proceedings of the ſecret committees hereinmentioned, and comparing thoſe profeſſions with the facts we have taken notice of, and particularly with the farce exhibited on the 1ſt October 1766, in the mayor's court of Calcutta. It muſt appear to a ſenſible mind, that the whole ſyſtem of the government of Bengal at this period was in reality no other than one continued ſcene of impoſition upon the public, under ſounding phraſes and pompous appearances; perhaps more ridiculous than any thing that has been held up under the veil of politics, and even exceeding any thing exhibited on the theatre of falſe religion.

It is evident by the new regulations of his lordſhip's and his ſecret committee, that they were calculated for the private emolument of theſe arbitrary rulers of the provinces of Bengal, Bahar and Oriſſa; regardleſs of the inſtructions of their maſters in England, inſtead of correcting the abuſes they were ſent to reform, they multiplied them, and intailed an eternal diſgrace on the Britiſh name in Indoſtan. The ignominious ſubjection in which they kept the princes of the country, the impolitical treaties they made to aggrandize the power of others, who may ſome day prove formidable enemies to the company, and make them repent of their alarming encroachments; the unjuſt and cruel proſcriptions of their own country men, the public injuries offered to the natives, their monopolies and malverſations will make the abetters of theſe odious meaſures with all their ill gotten wealth and the ſenatorial dignity they have contrived to obtain, the objects of ſcorn and contempt to the impartial

public

public. One cannot refrain from indignation in ſeeing the very tools of theſe lawleſs oppreſſions, and the vile inſtruments of their extortions, ſolicit at this very time and likely to obtain preſidencies and governments of the higheſt truſt and importance, in that very peninſula, which they have made before a ſcene of plunder and deſolation, and where they wiſh to return by the ſame motive of rapaciouſneſs and avarice.

Lord Clive lived in Bengal, with all the pomp and ſplendor of an eaſtern potentate. He diſplayed where ever he went the oſtentatious pageantry of an Aſiatic ſovereign; his title and decorations in ſtriking the natives with awe, who ſaw him exert without controul a dictatorial authority over the company's ſettlements. Amongſt his weighty and momentary regulations, he indulged himſelf now and then with the relaxation of tranſient amours. He thought his rank, his fortune and his power, were ſure to conquer the women, with the ſame facility that he ruled over the company's ſervants; effectively he found ſeveral ladies of eaſy virtue, who, like other commodities, came readily into the ſcheme of his monopolies, and compoſed the little ſeraglio of this fortunate Omrah. Not ſatisfied with the enjoyment of charms ſo eaſily purchaſed, he aimed at conqueſts more difficult, which he conſequently thought more glorious. A moſt amiable woman, of a reſpectable character, now in England, attracted his attention, and ſtimulated his deſires. He knew the approaches were to be made with precaution and ſecrecy, on account of the lady's ſpotleſs fame and her friends credit and honourable way of living. One of the young ſer-

want

vants of the company, his lordſhip's faithful agent in love affairs, was charged with this amorous negotiation. The lady, who is ſenſible and witty, on the firſt intimation of his lordſhip's reſpectful admiration for her endearing accompliſhments, turned into ridicule the addreſſes of the noble lord, and the ſuggeſtions of his plenipo.

The ſprightlineſs and good humour of the lady, who imagined the beſt way to diſcourage ſuch an improper addreſs, was raillery, often more mortifying to a ſuitor, than anger and indignation, gave ſtill to her noble admirer ſome diſtant hopes of triumphing ſcruples and delicacies, which his vanity did not permit him to conſtrue into an abſolute denial.

One morning ſhe found upon her toilet, the following letter, in the oriental ſtile, ſuppoſed to have been placed there by ſome of her ſervants, gained by the ſkillful agent; it was an allegory to the noble lover's exploits, and exaggerated paſſions expreſſed in the following terms:

" Zadi, nobly deſpiſing the blandiſhments of fortune, in the commerical profeſſion, to which he had been deſigned; with an active genius and natural talents for war, entered ſpontaneouſly the illuſtrious career of heroes, and of theſe benefactors of mankind who having ſubdued ſovereigns and nations, give peace and happineſs to the vanquiſhed. The fruit of his firſt atchivements in the field, was the conqueſt of a fertile province; he next wreſted from the hands of a warlike and powerful enemy, an important fortreſs, which ſecured his new acquiſitions; the ſtrong bulwork of a petty tyrant, whoſe

whoſe hoſtile fleets annoyed the commerce of Europe and Aſia, yielded to the victorious troops lead by Zadi, who ſoon revenged the barbarous death of his countrymen, by retaking the place, which had been the horrid ſcene of a ſavage prince's mercileſs perfidy; having routed the formidable army of this cruel deſpot and dethroned him, he beſtowed kingdoms, which he had no ambition to gain for himſelf; this become arbiter of the eaſt, and the fame of Zadi's victory having reached from the Ganges to the weſtern boundaries of Europe, he returned to his native land, where after he had the ſatisfaction of ſeeing his ſervices publickly acknowledged by thoſe, whom he had made the ſovereigns of a rich peninſula, and rewarded by a benehcent monarch, he generouſly forſook all the advantages of a ſplendid fortune, acquired by his valour and conduct, to reſtore unfortunate princes to their hereditary dominions, and to eſtabliſh a laſting and glorious peace in theſe eaſtern regions, where he had ſo often gathered laurels. But after all theſe memorable deeds, and the great honour beſtowed upon Zady who atchieved them; love that paſſion of noble ſouls, has ſuperſeded all the aſpiring thoughts of ambition. Zadi has ſeen Mirza, and ſince he beheld her angelic face, has not enjoyed a moment of repoſe and happineſs. Though perhaps his fortune and reputation might have influenced in Europe and Aſia, ſeveral charming women to beſtow on him, the moſt endearing marks of their affection, he has not a ſingle thought or ſigh left for them; the dear, lovely Mirza fills the whole capacity of his mind, his heart and his ſoul. She is the univerſe for him,

and

and could Zadi flatter himſelf to find this irreſiſtible charmer propitious to his vows, he would think himſelf the moſt happy of the creation to lay at her feet, and her diſpoſal, all the wealth and grandeur he is poſſeſſed of. He ſhall not reſt till he knows the ultimate reſolution of the faireſt under the ſun. And as a ſtate of ſuſpenſe and uncertainty in love is perplexing beyond deſcription, Zadi entreats the admirable Mirza to favour his impatience with an anſwer. May gracious heaven inſpire her to reſtore to his diſtracted ſoul its former tranquility: Leave the anſwer, where you find this indirect declaration; it will come ſafe into Zadi's hands."

The lady having peruſed with great attention, this panegyric of Zadi, and that incoherent ſtuff of vanity and love; did heſitate a long while, before ſhe took the reſolution to anſwer it. She eaſily gueſſed the author, and though ſhe did not think proper to make any enquiry to know how Zadi's affecting tale, had been introduced into her bed-chamber, ſhe naturally thought the agent had contrived to bribe ſome of her female attendants. In order to be rid of Zadi's importunities, and that he ſhould not attribute her ſilence to a favourable diſpoſition towards him, which modeſty did not allow her to manifeſt. She made the following ſpirited anſwer:

"Mirza born of honeſt, and induſtrious and creditable parents, and brought up under their eyes in the invariable meaſures of virtue, would not have taken the trouble of anſwering Zadi's oriental hyperbole, however exalted his ſtation may be, had ſhe been certain, he would have interpreted her ſilence, as the contempt ſhe holds in his aſſurance

and

and his preſumption. She has no aſpiring views, eſpecially of the diſhonourable kind, beyond the mercantile profeſſion of her father, and ſcorns the allurements of fortune acquired by plunder and devaſtation, when affixed to ſeduce innocence, and ſully an untainted reputation. If Zadi's active genius and talents for war, can no longer ſhine in the field, let him encourage the arts of peace, and reſtore in a pacific adminiſtration peace and plenty to diſtreſſed millions. True heroes indeed, ſhould be the friends, not the deſtructors of the human race: if Zadi will appear in that light to the preſent generation and to poſterity, he muſt I believe write himſelf the hiſtory of his boaſted exploits. Daſtardly ſovereigns have been ſubdued and dethroned by fraud and injuſtice, and their miſerable ſubjects oppreſſed by mercileſs ravagers, give them now the monopolized products of their own country. Mirza ſhall not attempt to follow Zadi through dreadful ſcenes of carnage and deſolation, of tyrants depoſed and others ſubſtituted in their place. If his fame in Europe and Aſia is juſtly acquired, and his warlike exploits have been exerted in ſupport of the rights of mankind, not ſuggeſted by ambition and avarice, time will ſhew. As for titles and honours, they are ſo often beſtowed on the unworthy, that they cannot be pronounced the rewards of true merit and honour. May Zadi convince the Indians by his diſintereſtedneſs and humanity, that he came to protect, not to oppreſs them. If they enjoy a temporary peace, they experience all the horrors of famine and lawleſs extortion. Let Zadi reſt himſelf under the ſhade of his laurels, and not aim at the diſgrace and infamy

of

of reſpectable families. True and ſentimental love is indeed the paſſion of noble ſouls, not that brutal inſtinct which would ſeem free to unlawful dying innocence and virtue. Mirza wiſhes Zadi may enjoy his uſual repoſe, and injure no more a perſon, whoſe conduct deſerves his reſpect. She leaves to the daughters of proſtitution to be dazzled by Zadi's fortune and ſplendor, and heartily deſpiſes Zadi and his offers."

This anſwer put an end to the noble lord's correſpondence, which he never after attempted to renew. This allegorical declaration of love, and the lady's anſwer, have been given to me by one of her intimate friends, and with her knowledge. This happened in the beginning of the year 1766; if the reader has any doubt about the authority of both, the lady who now lives in the pariſh of St. George, Hanover-ſquare, would if neceſſary, commiſſion her friend to aſſert, that this is an exact copy of the original letters.

The pleaſures of lord Clive were agreeably varied, by the enchanting proſpect of returning home with a princely fortune; the cries of the oppreſſed, who had experienced all the calamities of war and famine, with the accumulated diſtreſs of being unable to purchaſe the monopoliſed articles become neceſſary in that climate, would have ſoftened hearts that were not truly callous to all the tender emotions of compaſſion and humanity. It may be truly ſaid, that Calcutta was the ſeat of the empire of Indoſtan, where the arbitrary and uncontrouled ſervants of a commercial company ruled with an iron rod over the nominal ſovereigns of

their

their creation, and their forſaken and diſtracted ſubjects. I admire his lordſhip's declaration relative to the miſtruſt he profeſſed of the faithleſs muſſulmen, who will always look upon the aggrandiſement of the company with a jealous eye. What opinion muſt have theſe princes whom we ſtamp with the appellation and character of infidels, to ſee themſelves kept in the moſt humiliating ſubjection, by a ſet of rapacious adventurers, the outcaſt of a nation, who by dint of entreaties and ſubmiſſion, had obtained from their predeceſſors, ſome inſignificant factories in their dominions. Could they have foreſeen the conſequences of theſe impolitical conceſſions, to a ſociety who has derived their opulence and grandeur from the iniquitous ſyſtem of avarice and monopoly, they would not lament their folly and credulity. It is not their pretended perfidy, but their kindneſs and their hoſpitality, that have emboldened theſe freebooters to make a deſart of the rich peninſula of Indus, to trample under foot all the divine and human laws and to violate with impunity the moſt ſacred rights of mankind, in exhibiting the moſt ſhocking ſcene of European injuſtice and barbarity. It is high time indeed that government ſhould ſhew to the Aſſatics, that however contemptible and odious the Engliſh name has been rendered by ſome individuals, it becomes the national honour to convince them of our moderation and equity. We cannot ſuppoſe the infatuation of the princes of Indoſtan will continue for ever: they have experienced the fatal effects of their diſſentions; they have perceived that the Engliſh, notwithſtanding the manifeſt advantages of their ſkill in arms and their

diſcipline, could never have conquered a populous empire, and given law to that part of the Eaſt, without the aſſiſtance of the natives; they are become ſenſible that their ſubjects might be trained to the European art of war, and that a revolution which ſhould reſtore them to their former power and independence, may ſtill be effected, provided they act in concert with vigour and reſolution. Unleſs a formidable ſtanding army, maintained at a great expence, keep them in awe, and ſecure the company's acquiſitions, I dare ſay this event is nearer than we are aware of. The Dutch, our rivals in trade, who have till lately engroſſed to themſelves, the moſt valuable commerce of the Eaſt, and enjoyed an undiſputed ſovereignty in the iſles of the Indoſtan ſea, would no doubt, ſerve with eagerneſs, the firſt opportunity of aſſiſting indirectly, if not openly, the princes of Indoſtan, in extirpating their Engliſh oppreſſors. Now that the French and Danes have declared the trade of the Eaſt Indies indiſcriminately free and open to the ſubjects of both theſe monarchies, a number of adventurers enticed by the flattering hopes of making a rapid fortune in theſe diſtant regions, will continually emigrate thither, and if the territories of their ſettlement are not extenſive enough to provide for the convenience of theſe emigrants, or to ſatisfy their avarice, they will ſeek for an aſylum in the dominions of the neighbouring princes; offer them their ſervices and aſſiſtance in modelling their armies, and exert themſelves with courage and activity in reſcuing their munificent benefactors from the Engliſh yoke. It cannot be ſuppoſed that the French, who have

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loſt their cold and barren empire in America, will not once more turn their ambitious views towards that part of the globe, from which the richeſt materials of European commerce are drawn. I dare ſay, their hoſtile invaſion of the peninſula within the Ganges, will be the firſt ſtroke of their reſtleſs ambition and policy. A numerous army will rendezvous at the iſles of Bourbon and Mauritias, before we are aware of their deſigns and preparations. They will perhaps appear at firſt in the deceitful characters of auxilaries to the injured Aſiatic princes, and throw off the maſk afterwards, as principals in the quarrel. and the aſpiring conquerors of their rivals territories. As for the Danes, their ſettlement in the kingdom of Tanjore, inſignificant as it ſeems, may become in the hands of a formidable enemy, a place of arms of great importance, to carry on their military operations in the Carnatic. They hate and fear the Engliſh, whom they conſider as overbearing uſurpers. Nothing can diſconcert the meaſures of the French and baffle their attempts, than annexing theſe territorial acquiſitions to the Engliſh diadem, and keeping their a military force, not of plunderers, but of his Majeſty's troops, commanded by officers of honour and experience. This is what the French have been afraid of ever ſince adminiſtration has intimated their deſigns of uniting to the dominions of the ſovereign theſe Aſiatic conqueſts. As a company, I repeat it, it is impoſſible in the preſent ſtate of things, that this empire ſhould remain long ſubject to it; and it is not likely to thrive, when governed by the ſame petty tyrants who have ruined and devaſted it.

Whilſt

Whilſt lord Clive was in India, violent diſputes happened between the proprietors of India Stock, and the directors; occaſioned by the former ſuppoſing that an increaſe of dividend ſhould be made adequate to the great opulence of the company at that time; owing to their great acquiſitions in the Eaſt Indies. This the directors ſtrenuouſly oppoſed, ſoon after it was rumoured that the government intended to interfere in ſome manner in the diſpoſition of the company's affairs. At firſt, this report obtained but little credit, till a few days before the meeting of the general court, a meſſage was actually received by the directors from the miniſtry, informing them "that as the affairs of the Eaſt India company had been mentioned in parliament laſt ſeſſion, it was very probable they might be taken into conſideration again; therefore, from the regard they had for the welfare of the company, and that they might have time to prepare their papers for that occaſion, they informed them that theſe affairs ſhould be diſcuſſed at the meeting of the parliament.'

Accordingly in the beginning of the next ſeſſion, a committee was appointed to examine into the ſtate and condition of the company, and ſometime after it was ordered, that copies of the company's charters, their treaties with and grants from the country powers; together with their letters and correſpondence, to and from their ſervants in India; the ſtate of their revenues in Bengal, Bahar and Oriſſa, and other places, ſhould all be laid before the houſe, alſo an account of all expences incurred by government on the company's account, in the naval, military and every other department. An or-

order was then given for printing the Eaſt India papers; upon which the court of directors preferred a petition, ſhewing the great injury it would be to the company, and the many ill conſequences that would probably attend the publiſhing the private correſpondence between them and their ſervants. In conſequence of this petition, a motion being made to diſcharge the order a debate enſued; but it was at laſt agreed that the private correſpondence ſhould not be printed.

Among the ſeveral queſtions which aroſe during the courſe of this enquiry, was the right of the company to their territorial acquiſitions? it was argued that they had no right by their charter to any conqueſt: that ſuch poſſeſſions in the hands of a trading corporation were improper and dangerous; and that if it were even legally and politically right that they ſhould hold thoſe territories yet the vaſt expenditure of government, in the protection of that company, gave it a fair and equitable title, to the revenues ariſing from the conqueſts. But thoſe who maintained the right of the company, denied that the crown had made any reſervation of ſuch acquiſitions as had been made by it; that it was a dangerous infringement on property and public faith to queſtion them, as the company had purchaſed its charters from the public, and that they were confirmed by act of parliament. That if the crown had any right to the poſſeſſions of that body in India, the courts were open for the trial of that claim: that the houſe of commons was not by the conſtitution, the interpreter of the laws or the decider of legal rights: that it would be of the moſt fatal conſequences to the

the liberties of Great Britain if ever they ſhould aſſume it: that as to the equitable right pretended from the expences of government, the company ſtood as fair in that light of the crown, they having expended much greater ſums in acquiring the diſputed territories and revenues.

Afterwards a petition was preſented by the company to parliament, containing two ſets of propoſals for a temporary agreement, which was to laſt for three years. By the firſt the government was to grant the company ſome advantages with reſpect to the inland duties, on their teas, and a drawback on the exportation of them to Ireland and the colonies, and ſome others reſpecting raw ſilk, callicoes, muſlins, the recruiting ſervice and the military ſtores. That in return after deducting four hundred thouſand pounds, in lieu of the company's former commercial profits, the neat produce of all the remaining revenues and trade, after deducting all charges, were to be equally divided between the government and the company; provided that the company's property, in the new acquiſitions continued for three years. By the ſecond propoſals, the company offered, upon the ſame terms, to pay the ſpecific ſum of four hundred thouſand pounds per annum, for three years by half yearly payments; and to indemnify the public for any loſs the revenue might be at, by granting the advantages which they required in the tea trade, of the advanced conſumption of it, taken at an average of five years, did not anſwer the end.

Theſe laſt propoſals were accepted by the houſe, with the difference only, that the agreement was limited to two inſtead of three years, and a bill was

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afterwards paſſed on theſe terms. The dividend of the company was alſo regulated by another bill which ordered that no dividend ſhould be made, but in purſuance of a vote carried by ballot, in a general court ſummoned for the purpoſe ſeven days before, nor any increaſe of dividend beyond ten per cent.

We cannot at this preſent juncture paſs unnoticed the great abilities and eminent ſervices of a noble lord, recently appointed to the government and preſidency of Fort St. George; he deſerves in every reſpect an honourable mention, amongſt the few governors and commanders, whoſe unſpotted name have nothing to fear from the blaſt of defamation. He was born a gentleman, and his family connections were ſuperior to moſt of the young men, who went out as writers in the Eaſt India company ſervice. Mr. Pigot with the advantages of a polite education, and an ardent deſire to enlarge the ſphere of his knowledge, in indulging the turn he had manifeſted early for obſervation, by a voyage that might be conducive to the improvement of his mind and his fortune, went out in the capacity of a writer to Madraſs in the year 1736, at a time, that the company's ſervants were ſatisfied to acquire with honour and induſtry, eaſe and independence. His diligence and emulation recommended him ſoon to the favour and attention of his ſuperiors, he had ſhewn himſelf when high in council, and chief of Vizagapatam, where a conſiderable part of the company inveſtment is provided, worthy of a higher truſt and command. And after eighteeen years faithful ſervices, with an unblemiſhed character and abilities adequate to the chief

preſidency

preſidency in Indoſtan, he was according to the uſual gradation, appointed to ſucceed Mr. Saunders in the government of Fort St. George.

As he had ſuperſeded none of his colleagues qualified for that important office, his promotion met with univerſal approbation. Indeed it required a man of penetration and judgment, to fill that high poſt, when the coaſt of Coromandel, was by the arts and intrigues of Mr. Dupleix, governor of Pondicherry, made a ſcene of bloodſhed and deſolation, and the French making the moſt powerful efforts to give law to that part of Aſia, and to ſubdue Madraſs the capital of the Engliſh ſettlements within the Ganges: beſides the conduct and reputation of Mr. Saunders in pointing out a ſucceſſion actuated by the ſame principles of honour and zeal for the company's ſervice, would have diſgraced any man of moderate talents who had filled a place lately occupied by a governor ſo juſtly revered. When Mr. Pigot ſaw general Lally elated by the conqueſt of Fort St. David, at the gate of Madraſs with a victorious army, he was not in the leaſt diſmayed by the reputation and ſucceſs of the French general, as he had in concert with the colonels Lawrence and Draper, taken all the meaſures that human ſagacity could ſuggeſt for a vigorous defence. As we have already mentioned the operations of this famous ſiege, it is ſufficient to add that it was chiefly owing to governor Pigot's ſkill and activity, in the great harmony that always ſubſiſted betwixt him and the two brave officers mentioned above, and to his indefatigable vigilance and courage, that Lally was forced

ted in fury and deſpair to abandon the place. In his civil adminiſtration Mr. Pigot loved, feared and reſpected; diſplayed all the talents and public virtues, that make a man fit to command. Far from encouraging monopolies and extentions in his preſidency, he always ſhewed himſelf the protector of the oppreſſed, the friend of the injured, and the avenger of injuſtice and lawleſs impoſition. He had no ſhare in the ſpoils of the Nabob's depoſed and murdered, nor in the preſents laviſhly beſtowed on the company's ſervants, by thoſe made to ſerve ſelfiſh and iniquitous deſigns. Mr. Pigot continued nine years in that exalted ſtation, in which he rendered the company the moſt eſſential ſervices, and preſerved an unſullied fame. When the company were diſpoſſeſſed of their eſtabliſhments in Bengal by the Nabob, he generouſly determined to make a deſperate effort, at the very hazard of the ſettlement to which he preſided, to re-conquer part of a fruitful province threatened with an intire reduction by an inveterate enemy.

Mr. Pigot on his return to England in 1764. After a reſidence of near eight and twenty years on the coaſt of Coromandel, received the thanks of the court of directors for his eminent ſervices to the company. He declared on this occaſion, that the company might at all future times command his ſervices at home and abroad.

He had the additional ſatisfaction to ſee his conduct approved of by his ſovereign, who conferred on him honours deſerved and unſolicited, by raiſing him to the title and dignity of Baron Pigot of Patſhall in the kingdom of Ireland, in the year 1766. In his ſenatorial capacity, he has on all the

grand conſtitutional points maintained the character of a man animated by public virtue, unawed by power, unbiaſſed by party and incorruptible.

When Mr. Rumbold was appointed by the directors governor of Madraſs, lord Pigot wrote to the proprietors, that "Reflecting upon the ſituation for ſome time paſt of the Eaſt India company's affairs, and hearing ſuch numberleſs complaints of miſconduct abroad, I thought it my duty to make an offer of my further ſervices to the company, and I have communicated theſe ſentiments to three different chairmen of the court of directors; I have indeed never preſſed myſelf upon them, but the conduct of the preſent court of directors is ſo pointed, that I cannot help appealing to a court of proprietors. In the beginning of the laſt year, I deſired the preſent chairman to pay my reſpects to the court of directors, and to acquaint them, that if I could render the company any ſervices upon the Coromandel coaſt, where I had ſo long reſided, they might command theſe ſervices; but the court of directors, without returning me any anſwer to an offer which at leaſt ought to have been treated with civility, have appointed another perſon to the government of Fort St. George."

The court of directors rejected afterwards the propoſition of firſt putting lord Pigot in nomination by the chicane of moving a previous queſtion. After they had determined that the appointment of Mr. Rumbold out of the regular ſucceſſion was neceſſary, his lordſhip laid that offer before the proprietors which had been ſo contemptuouſly rejected by the majority of the court of directors, who carried the nomination of Mr. Rumbold to

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that ſtation. As there is not one man on the coaſt of Coromandel, who is ſo old a ſervant to the company, and indeed every man on that eſtabliſhment entered into the company's ſervice after lord Pigot was high in council at Madraſs, the majority of the independent proprietors, ſenſible that lord Pigot's great knowledge and experience qualify him for that truſt, have given him the preference above his competitor. As the preſidency of Madraſs could not be better filled in times of danger and difficulty, lord Pigot's electors have a right to expect from his lordſhip's rank, principles and tried abilities, whatever can give weight, reputation and permanency to this important ſettlement in times of ſafety.

Our readers acquainted with the voluptuouſneſs and effeminacy of the Aſiatic princes, the firſt cauſes of their ſubjection and diſaſters, are perhaps inclined to judge unfavourably of their mental faculties; yet we are able to give a ſpecimen of their natural genius and penetration, notwithſtanding all the diſadvantages of the Aſiatic education calculated to contract their ideas and to relax the vigour of the mind. It is examplified by a manuſcript tranſlated from the Perſian, the original of which is attributed to Shah Allam, the preſent king of Dehly, and imparted to the editor by an officer of reputation and veracity, in whoſe hands it accidentally fell. This prince ſon of Allum Gheer of the line of Tamerlane, brought up at the ſchool of adverſity, this characteriſes the individuals and nations, to whom he had been obliged to apply for protection and ſafety. He began to lament his fate in the following terms.

" Oh

" Oh wretched progeny of the invincible Tamerlane, whoſe royal birth is reputed a crime, doomed to pine in anguiſh and captivity, within the gloomy walls of a diſmal priſon. Curſed policy of the Eaſtern deſpotes, who think their ſafety depend on the thraldom of their children. Death is the ſure puniſhment of tyrannical ſuſpicion, and the leaſt ſurpriſe of an attempt to breathe freely that ſalubrious air which the creator of the univerſe has deſigned for the vileſt of his creatures, direct the fatal dagger into the breaſt of princes born for empire. But ſtill death is preferable to perpetual ſlavery, and to free myſelf from ignominious ſhackles, I will venture the illuſory thoughts of future grandeur and happineſs." After he had effected his eſcape, he made this prayer. " O propitious eternal Being, the ruler of all the potentates of the earth, do thou direct my courſe amidſt numberleſs dangers and difficulties, make me diſcern my friends from my foes, before I truſt myſelf to faithleſs deceitful men. Inſpire me with wiſdom and judgment, that I may not fall again a ſacrifice to ambition and villainy." After Sujah al Dowlah, Nabob of Oude had denied him an aſylum into his dominions, and diſmiſſed him with a ſmall preſent, he ſays, " It is thus that royalty in diſtreſs fares no better than the loweſt of mankind beggars, thou proud and inſolent vaſſal, whoſe anceſtors were obſcure ſlaves, and who derive thy very exiſtence from the gracious ſmile of the illuſtrious deſcendants of Tamerlane, I deſpiſe thy gift which cruel neceſſity forces me to accept."

Having taken refuge with the Nabob of Illahabad, he thus artfully engages him to take arms in

ſupport of his deſperate cauſe. "Was I in poſſeſſion of the throne of my progenitors, I might perhaps attribute your ſucceſs to intereſt, not generoſity. When there are no obſtacles to conquer, there is no glory to acquire, ſhew yourſelf worthy to reign, draw the ſword in favour of a prince whoſe origin you pretend to revere; and let your magnanimity be a laſting monument of my reſtoration to my birth right."

After he had miſcarried in his expedition into the province of Bengal, he exclaimed "O cruel fortune thou mayſt diſconcert my projects and my deſigns, but it is not in thy power to ſubdue my ſpirit." After colonel Clive had politely declined taking the fugitive prince under his protection, and made him a handſome preſent, he expreſſes himſelf in the following terms, on the general character of the Europeans.

"Tho' we call the chriſtians unfaithful and treacherous, there is amongſt them a national honour, which is the very ſoul of their warlike atchievements. Had we the ſame advantages over them, they would have more reaſon to complain of our cruel policy and arrogance in proſperity. Theſe men have the ſame vices, and the ſame paſſions, but their ambition, their avarice, and even their brutal appetites, have the varniſh of the love of glory and of their country, the pretence of the rewards due to merit and ſervices, and a delicacy, of which we are not capable. Had we conquered part of Europe by arms and negociations, the chriſtians would not find us the generous enemies they like to appear. When I conſider that a handful of Engliſhmen now give the law to this terreſtrial paradiſe

radiſe, I heartily forgive them the contempt in which they held our indolence and pageantry. Their education, their prejudices, their laws are calculated for empire. The man who now ſway over theſe rich provinces, owes his grandeur, his fortune, his humours to our diſſenſions and puſillanimity. Nothing can ſave the great empire of Indoſtan from a foreign yoke, than the wars and animoſities of the Europeans. No princes in this peninſula dare face them in the field, and it is from theſe natural foes that I muſt apply for protection. If their own intereſt leads them to aſſiſt me, they will no doubt, place me on the Niſmud of the great Tamerlane, but then I ſhall be a ſlave arrayed in royalty, they will direct my councils, chuſe my miniſters, and command in my court with more ſway than the emperors of Dehly in the plenitude of their power."

His favourable opinion of the Engliſh, engaged him to ſurrender at diſcretion to the Britiſh commander major Carnac, but finding he received from them no real aſſiſtance, he tryed once more to move the nabob of Oude's generoſity, but he made him repent of his application, as inſtead of an hoſpitable reception, the nabob kept him cloſe priſoner, and forced him during his captivity, to confer on his oppreſſer the title of vizier. He ſays on this act of perfidy; "Oh treacherous inhoſpitable tyrant, thou make even my calamities ſubſervient to thy curſed pride and ambition; were not the Engliſh thy maſters, thou ſhould have aimed at univerſal empire and trample under foot all divine and human laws. Thou may deprive me of my perſonal liberty, but I defy thee to rob me

me of my fortitude. Oh that I had remained in the priſon of Dehly, better to be a captive in my capital than in the hands of an unmerciful daſtardy ſlave."

After the battle of Banan, where Sujah al Dowlah had led him in captivity, he threw himſelf again on the Engliſh for protection, who thinking their own intereſt conſiſtent with his elevation to the throne of Dehly, made him as he had foreſeen a nominal emperor. In the firſt public ſpeech, he made to his Omrahs, there was this remarkable paſſage.

" If I am not juſt, compaſſionate, beneficent, may the ſame fatal deſtiny, which has made me ſenſible that I am a poor mortal man, ſubject to all the misfortunes of my fellow creatures; lead me again to an obſcure priſon, never to ſee the light again.

Lord Clive regardleſs of the approbation or cenſure of the directors, was carrying on his civil and military regulations, maugre the diſtreſs of the people and the murmurs of the army; as he propoſed to remain a ſhort time in India, he made the beſt of it. It muſt be ſaid in juſtification of the little notice he took of the orders of the direction, that they were often abſurd, contradictory, and evinced the ignorance of their own affairs even in commercial matters; an unpardonable fault in the managers of a trading company. We may naturally ſuppoſe that the ſervants of the company as well as their dependents, excepted thoſe who were benefited by his lordſhip's meaſures, and were in the ſecret, were diſſatisfied, and no friends to his admini-

adminiſtration. As for the army thoſe who had [illegible] reſigned or had been diſmiſſed by the reduction, [illegible] all their hopes blaſted, without expectation of ſeeing their grievances redreſſed, againſt the influence of wealth and power. He had formerly paid a proper reſpect to his ſenior officers, as he gave a commendable inſtance of that regard for his maſter in the military art, general Lawrence, upon whom he refuſed to aſſume the command, but now officers were diſplaced or promoted according as they courted the favour of his lordſhip, or were in the good graces of his ſecret committee. He reduced no doubt the expences of the army, but the method he took was unjuſt and impolitical, as this ſaving to the company was not a compenſation of ſeveral other charges he entailed on them, by the new modelling the civil government, with diſgrace and inſtability. The views of his lordſhip were now towards Europe, where if he could not act the ſovereign as in the Eaſt, he was ſure to eclipſe the firſt nobility of his native land by all the advantages of fortune. His inſtruction to his agents in England were to purchaſe all the eſtates in Shropſhire, that they could annex to his former acquiſitions, and to ſecure againſt his return ſeveral boroughs for his friends and dependents. Indeed he was a man of buſineſs to all intents and purpoſes, of great application and activity. The climate of Bengal agreed extremely well with his lordſhip's conſtitution, and the temperance he obſerved in his diet was conducive to the health he enjoyed, notwithſtanding the viciſſitudes of it: he was commonly an early riſer, and devoted part of the morning to buſineſs: after breakfaſt he uſed to take

ſome

me exercise in his palankeen, or in a carriage, few select friends of his select committee, or some other senior servants of the company dined with him. His table was served with delicacy and profusion, and all the most exquisite wines of Europe were at the discretion of his guests. If he was in good humour, he would encourage a free circulation of the bottle, and by intervals stimulate mirth and jollity; but he soon relapsed in his natural pensive mood, and was after silent for a considerable time. His conversation was not lively, but rational and solid. As he seldom drank freely enough, to be seen without disguise, he was impenetrable, excepted to a few confidents to whom he entrusted the execution of his schemes and designs. It was not often that his guests were allowed a great latitude of freedom, as he was always stately and commonly reserved. After dinner he took sometimes a little repose, as it is customary in this torrid region. Towards the evening, he resorted to some gardens with a few companions, and after supper either played at cards, of which he was fond in a select company, or retired with some favourite woman. It cannot be said that he enjoyed life, he only varied these fashionable amusements which gave him no real pleasure or satisfaction. Since he had been obliged by his rank in life to converse with ministers and statesmen, he had applied himself to politics, and in reading books that might give him some useful knowledge of the English constitution. He was not an orator, but he spoke with propriety and judgment. His style, as may be seen in his letters, was neither elevated nor contemptible. He was perfectly well acquainted

with the genius of the Aſiatics, and no body know better how to take advantage of their apprehenſions and puſillanimity.

Copy of a deed of aſſignment or ſale, whereby the right honourable Robert lord Clive ſells to ſundry gentlemen of the council at Calcutta, his five ſhares in the public monopoly of ſalt, &c. and alſo his ſhare in a private ſociety in partnerſhip with William Brightwell Sumner, Harry Verelſt and Francis Sykes, Eſquires, for thirty two thouſand pounds ſterling.

Know all men by theſe preſents, That whereas I Robert lord Clive, baron Clive of Plaſſey, in the kingdom of Ireland, knight, companion of the moſt honourable order of the Bath, and preſident and governor of Fort William in Bengal, in the Eaſt-Indies, am truly and juſtly intereſted in, and entitled to five ſhares, or proportions, in the joint ſtock in the trade of ſalt, beetle-nut, and tobacco, produced or to be produced within the provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Oriſſa, in the Eaſt-Indies aforeſaid, and to all ſuch profits, proceeds, and advantages, as ſhall ariſe or accrue from the ſame; and alſo juſtly entitled to one quarter part or ſhare of an adventure of ſalt in company with William Brightwell Sumner, Harry Verelſt and Francis Sykes of Calcutta, aforeſaid, Eſquires, amounting as per contract purchaſes, to 497,001 maunds of Calcutta, little more or leſs, now under the management and direction of the ſaid Harry Verelſt; and likewiſe to one third part, or ſhare, of an adventure of 40,000 maunds of ſalt, in company with

with general John Carnac and the ſaid Harry Verelſt; and bought of Meſſrs. James Aſhburner and William Majendie to be delivered at

Now theſe preſents witneſs, that I the ſaid Robert lord Clive, for, and in conſideration of the ſum of thirty-two thouſand pounds of lawful money of Great Britain, to me in hand paid by the ſeveral perſons, and in the ſeveral ſums, ſhares, or proportions here after mentioned; that is to ſay, by the ſaid Harry Verelſt, Francis Sykes, and Alexander Campbell of Calcutta aforeſaid, Eſquires, the ſum of 8000l. each, and by Claud Ruſſel and Thomas Kelſall, of the ſame place, Eſquires, the ſum of 4000l. each, the receipt of which ſaid ſeveral ſums I do hereby acknowledge, have aſſigned, transferred, and made over, and by theſe preſents do aſſign, transfer, and make over unto the ſaid Harry Verelſt, Francis Sykes, Alexander Campbell, Claud Ruſſel, and Thomas Kelſall, their executors, adminiſtrators and aſſigns, all and every the profits, proceeds, or advantages ariſing, or which ſhall or may ariſe or accrue on my aforeſaid five ſhares or parts of the ſaid joint ſtock in trade of ſalt, beetle-nut and tobacco, produced or to be produced in the provinces aforeſaid, for the term of two years, commencing from the day of laſt paſt. And alſo all the profits, proceeds and advantages ariſing, or which ſhall or may ariſe or accrue on that ſaid one quarter-part or ſhare in the ſaid adventure of 497,001 Calcutta maunds of ſalt, in company with the ſaid William Brightwell Sumner, Harry Verelſt, and Francis Sykes; and likewiſe all the profits, proceeds, and advantages ariſing, or to ariſe on my ſaid

ſaid one-third-part or ſhare in the ſaid adventure of 40,000 maunds of ſalt, in company with the ſaid John Carnac and Harry Verelſt as aforeſaid, and all and every part thereof; and alſo all the benefits, proceeds, and advantages ariſing therefrom, and which now are, or at any time or times hereafter ſhall become due or payable for the ſame, and all my eſtate, right, title, intereſt, claim and demand whatſoever, of, in, or to the ſame, or any part thereof, to have and to hold the ſaid profits, proceeds, and advantages ariſing, or which ſhall or may ariſe on my ſaid five ſhares or proportions of the ſaid joint ſtock in trade of ſalt, beetle-nut and tobacco, produced, or to be produced in the ſaid provinces, during the term of two years as aforeſaid, unto the ſaid Harry Verelſt, Francis Sykes, Alexander Campbell, Claud Ruſſel, and Thomas Kelſall, their executors, adminiſtrators, and aſſigns, to their own proper uſe and behoof for ever. And alſo to have and to hold all and every the profits, proceeds, or advantages, ariſing on my ſaid one quarter-part, or ſhare, in the adventure of 497,001 maunds of ſalt, in company with William Brightwell Sumner, Harry Verelſt, and Francis Sykes as aforeſaid; and likewiſe all and every the profits, proceeds and advantages ariſing on my ſaid one-third part, or ſhare, in the adventure of 40,000 maunds of ſalt, in company with the ſaid John Carnac and Harry Verelſt, bought of James Aſhburner and William Majendie, as aforeſaid; and all and every part and parcel thereof, unto the ſaid Harry Verelſt, Francis Sykes, Alexander Campbell, Claud Ruſſell, and Thomas Kelſall, their executors, adminiſtrators, and

and aſſigns to their own proper uſe and behoof for ever. And I, the ſaid Robert lord Clive, for my executors and adminiſtrators, do hereby covenant, grant, and agree to and with the ſaid Harry Verelſt, Francis Sykes, Alexander Campbell, Claud Ruſſel, and Thomas Kelſall, their executors, adminiſtrators, and aſſigns, that they the ſaid Harry Verelſt, Francis Sykes, Alexander Campbell, Claud Ruſſell, and Thomas Kelſall, their executors, adminiſtrators and aſſigns, ſhall and may, from time to time, and at all times hereafter, lawfully, peaceably, and quietly have, hold, receive, take, and enjoy, to their own proper uſe and behoof, all the ſaid profits, proceeds, and advantages ariſing on my ſaid five ſhares in the joint ſtock in trade of ſalt, beetle-nut and tobacco, produced or to be produced in the ſaid provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Oriſſa, for the term of two years as aforeſaid. And alſo all the ſaid profits, proceeds, and advantages ariſing on my ſaid one quarter-part, or ſhare, in the ſaid adventure of 497,001 maunds of ſalt, in company with William Brightwell Sumner, Harry Verelſt, and Francis Sykes, as aforeſaid. And likewiſe the profits, proceeds, and advantages ariſing on my ſaid one-third part, or ſhare, in the ſaid adventure of 40,000 maunds of ſalt, in company with general John Carnac and Harry Verelſt, Eſquires, as aforeſaid, and of all and every part or parcel thereof, without any lawful let, ſuit, trouble, moleſtation, or interruption of or by me the ſaid Robert lord Clive, my executors, or adminiſtrators, or any other perſon or perſons whatſoever, lawfully claiming or to claim, by, from, or under me, them, or any of them, or by any

or

or either of our acts, means, or procurement. And the ſaid Robert lord Clive doth hereby, for himſelf, his executors and adminiſtrators, covenant, promiſe, and agree to and with the ſaid Harry Verelſt, &c. their executors, adminiſtrators, and aſſigns, that in caſe any order or direction ſhould be iſſued by the honourable directors of the Eaſt India company in England, by which the ſaid joint trade of ſalt, beetle-nut and tobacco ſhall be ſtopped, or any hindrance or interruption made to the carrying on of the ſame, then and in that caſe, the ſaid Robert lord Clive is to allow and pay to the ſaid Harry Verelſt, &c. their attornies, executors, adminiſtrators, or aſſigns, ſuch reaſonable allowance or profits on the above-aſſigned parts, ſhares, and proportions, as ſhall be ſettled by them the ſaid Robert lord Clive and Harry Verelſt, &c. or by arbitrators to be by them appointed for that purpoſe. And the ſaid Harry Verelſt, &c. for themſelves, their executors, adminiſtrators, and aſſigns, do hereby covenant, promiſe, and agree to be anſwerable and accountable to the ſaid Robert lord Clive, his executors or adminiſtrators, for all ſuch advances, principal ſum or ſums of money, that he hath made, or ſhall hereafter make, on account of his ſaid five ſhares in the ſaid joint ſtock in trade of ſalt, beetle-nut, and tobacco aforeſaid, or of, for, or on account of his ſaid one quarter-part, or ſhare, in the ſaid adventure of 497,001 maunds of ſalt, in company with William Brightwell Sumner, Harry Verelſt, and Francis Sykes, or on account of his one third-part, or ſhare, in the adventure of 40,000 maunds of ſalt, in company with General John Carnac and Harry

rry Verelſt, Eſquires, as aforeſaid, the profits of e ſaid ſeveral parts, or ſhares, being only hereby intended to be aſſigned and made over.

In witneſs, &c.

Copy of an indenture, or deed of indemnity; whereby the right honourable Robert lord Clive and the gentlemen of the committees and council at Calcutta, engage not to obey the orders of the court of Eaſt India Directors, reſpecting the ſalt monopoly: and to ſtand by, and indemnify each other for ſuch diſobedience.

"*This indenture, made the* day of October, in the fifth year of the reign of, &c. and in the year of our Lord 1765, between the right honourable Robert Lord Clive, Baron of Plaſſey in the kingdom of Ireland, knight companion of the moſt honourable order of the Bath, and preſident and governor of Fort William at Bengal, in the Eaſt Indies, William Brightwell Sumner, brigadier general John Carnac, Charles Stafford Playdell, Harry Verelſt, Francis Sykes, John Cartier, Randolph Marriott, Hugh Watts, Aſcanius William, Senior, Samuel Middleton, Ralph Leyceſter, and George Gray, being the council of Fort William aforeſaid, Eſquires, for and on behalf of the court of Directors of the honourable the united Eaſt India company of merchants of England trading to the Eaſt Indies, on the one part, and the ſaid William Brightwell Sumner, Harry Verelſt, Ralph Leyceſter, and George Gray, being a committee nominated, conſtituted and appointed by the

the proprietors entitled to the exclusive joint trade of ſalt, beetle-nut and tobacco, produced and to be produced in the provinces of Bengal, Bahar and Oriſſa, for the better conducting, managing, and carrying on the ſaid trade, on the other part. Whereas in and by a certain deed or inſtrument in writing, bearing date the 18th day of September 1765, and made or mentioned to be made between the ſaid proprietors to the ſaid joint trade on the one part, and the above-named William Brightwell Sumner, Harry Verelſt, Ralph Leyceſter, and George Gray on the other part, it is witneſſed, amongſt other things, that in order for the better carrying on and managing the ſaid joint trade in a beneficial manner, and moſt for the benefit and advantage of the ſaid proprietors, it was and is agreed by and between the parties in the ſaid deed mentioned, that the ſaid excluſive joint trade and merchandize ſhould, from and after the 18th day of September 1765, be conducted, managed, tranſacted, and carried on, by them the ſaid William Brightwell Sumner, Harry Verelſt, Ralph Leyceſter and George Gray, conſtituting a committee for the management thereof, but with the proper monies, and at the joint riſk and hazard, and for the joint account, uſe and benefit of all the ſaid proprietors, their ſeveral and reſpective executors and adminiſtrators, in the ſeveral proportions therein ſet forth. And it was and is alſo further agreed, by and between the ſaid parties, that the form and ſignature under which the ſaid excluſive joint trade and merchandize ſhould be conducted and carried on, ſhould be the ſign manual of them the

the ſaid William Brightwell Sumner, Harry Verelſt, Ralph Leyceſter and George Gray, and their ſucceſſors for the time being, conſtituting a committee as aforeſaid, together with the ſeal of the ſociety of trade, with full power and authority to the ſaid William Brightwell Sumner, Harry Verelſt, Ralph Leyceſter and George Gray, and their ſucceſſors, to uſe the ſame, from the ſaid 18th day of September 1765, until the ſaid excluſive joint trade and merchandize ſhould ceaſe and be no longer carried on for the uſe of the ſaid proprietors, as in and by the ſaid deed, reference being thereunto had, will more fully and at large appear. Now this indenture witneſſeth, That in conſideration of the ſaid William Brightwell Sumner, Harry Verelſt, Ralph Leyceſter, and George Gray, taking upon themſelves the ſole management and conduction of the ſaid joint trade, on behalf of the ſaid proprietors, and having laid out and expended large ſums of money to carry on the ſame, and in order to enforce the execution of all and every the covenants, clauſes, grants, articles and agreements in the before recited deed mentioned and contained, as the ſame are therein reſpectively expreſſed; and alſo, in conſideration of the duties or cuſtoms that ſhall or may ariſe or accrue by reaſon of the carrying on the ſaid excluſive joint trade of ſalt, beetle-nut and tobacco, according to the true intent and meaning of the ſaid herein before recited deed, to be paid to them the ſaid Robert lord Clive, William Brightwell Sumner, [illegible]m Carnac, Charles Stafford Playdell, Harry Verelſt, Francis Sykes, John Cartier, Randolph Marriott, Hugh Warts, Aſcanius William Senior, Samuel Middleton, Ralph Leyceſter, and George

Gray, as President and council of Fort William aforesaid, for and on account of the said honourable the united East India Company, by them the said William Brightwell Sumner, Harry Verelst, Ralph Leycester, and George Gray, and their successors, constituting a committee as aforesaid, for and on account of the proprietors entitled to the said exclusive joint trade and merchandize in the proportions hereafter mentioned; that is to say, 35 per cent. on salt, each 100 maunds to be valued and reckoned at 90 rupees; the sum of 10 per cent. upon beetle-nut, to be valued and reckoned at prime cost; and the sum of 25 per cent. on tobacco, to be valued and reckoned at the prime cost; and also, that the said joint trade and merchandize may not cease or be dissolved before the expiration of the term in the said recited deed mentioned, or any hindrance or stoppage be put to the same, the said Robert lord Clive, as president, and the said William Brightwell Sumner, John Carnac, Charles Stafford Playdell, Harry Verelst, Francis Sykes, John Cartier, Randolph Marriott, Hugh Watts, Afcanius William Senior, Samuel Middleton, Ralph Leycester, and George Gray, as council of Fort William aforesaid, for or on behalf of the said court of directors of the honourable the united East India company aforesaid, do hereby, for themselves and their successors, their executors and administrators, covenant, promise, and agree, to and with the said William Brightwell Sumner, Harry Verelst, Ralph Leycester, and George Gray, and their successors, their heirs, executors and administrators, that provided any order or direction should issue or be made by the said court of directors

rectors in England, thereby ordering and directing the ſaid excluſive joint trade and merchandize to be diſſolved or put to an end, or that may hinder and ſtop the carrying on the ſame or any part thereof, or contain any thing contrary to the covenants, clauſes, grants, articles, or agreements in the ſaid before-recited deed mentioned and contained, or any of them; ſo that the ſame may thereby become void and of none effect, then, and in that caſe, they the ſaid Robert lord Clive, as preſident, William Brightwell Sumner, John Carnac, Charles Stafford Playdell, Harry Verelſt, Francis Sykes, John Cartier, Randolph Marriott, Hugh Watts, Aſcanius William Senior, Samuel Middleton, Ralph Leyceſter, and George Gray, as council of Fort William, aforeſaid, ſhall and will well and truly ſave harmleſs and keep indemnified them the ſaid William Brightwell Sumner, Harry Verelſt, Ralph Leyceſter, and George Gray, and all the proprietors entitled or to be entitled to the ſaid joint trade, and their ſucceſſors, their executors and adminiſtrators; and alſo ſhall and will (notwithſtanding any order or direction to be iſſued to the contrary as aforeſaid) keep up, continue and enforce, or cauſe to be kept up, continued and enforced, the ſaid excluſive joint trade and merchandize, for the term of one year, to commence from the 18th day of September 1765, and expire on the 18th day of September 1766, according to the true intent and meaning of the ſaid before-recited deed, and [illegible] the parties thereto, as if the ſaid order and direction had never been made or iſſued. And further, that the ſaid Robert lord Clive, William Brightwell Sumner, John Carnac, Charles Stafford

Playdell, Harry Verelſt, Francis Sykes, John Cartier, Randolph Marriott, Hugh Watts, Aſcanius William Senior, Samuel Middleton, Ralph Leyceſter, and George Gray, and their ſucceſſors, as preſident and council aforeſaid, ſhall and will allow unto them the ſaid William Brightwell Sumner, Harry Verelſt, Ralph Leyceſter, and George Gray, and their ſucceſſors, conſtituting a committee as aforeſaid, full and ſufficient time after the expiration of the ſaid term of one year as aforeſaid, to ſell, vend, and diſpoſe of all ſuch goods and merchandize belonging to the ſaid joint-trade and concern as ſhall at that time remain on their hands unſold and not diſpoſed of, and alſo to collect and gather in all ſuch ſum or ſums of money as ſhall be any ways due or owing unto them the ſaid William Brightwell Sumner, Harry Verelſt, Ralph Leyceſter and George Gray, or their ſucceſſors, on account of the ſaid proprietors and joint trade aforeſaid, and to ſettle and adjuſt all books and accounts belonging to and concerning the ſame. And the ſaid William Brightwell Sumner, Harry Verelſt, Ralph Leyceſter and George Gray, do hereby, for themſelves and the reſt of the proprietors entitled to the ſaid excluſive joint trade and merchandize of ſalt, beetle-nut and tobacco, as aforeſaid, and their ſucceſſors, covenant, promiſe, and agree to and with the ſaid Robert lord Clive, William Brightwell Sumner, John Carnac, Charles Stafford Playdell, Harry Verelſt, Francis Sykes, John Cartier, Randolph Marriott, Hugh Watts, Aſcanius William Senior, Samuel Middleton, Ralph Leyceſter, and George Gray, as preſident and council of Fort William aforeſaid, and their ſucceſſors

for the time being, that they the ſaid William Brightwell Sumner, Harry Verelſt, Ralph Leyceſter and George Gray, conſtituting a committee as aforeſaid, and their ſucceſſors from time to time, ſhall and will well and truly pay and diſcharge the duties and cuſtoms of the ſaid articles of ſalt, beetle-nut and tobacco, at and after the rate herein before mentioned and expreſſed of and concerning the ſame, to the right honourable the preſident and council of Fort William aforeſaid, and their ſucceſſors, or to whom they ſhall from time to time direct and appoint to receive the ſame. And they the ſaid Robert lord Clive, John Carnac, Charles Stafford Playdell, Francis Sykes, Randolph Marriott, Hugh Watts, Aſcanius William, Senior, Samuel Middleton, Ralph Leyceſter, and George Gray, do hereby bind and oblige themſelves, and their ſucceſſors, their executors and adminiſtrators, jointly unto them the ſaid William Brightwell Sumner, Harry Verelſt, Ralph Leyceſter, and George Gray, on behalf of themſelves and the ſaid proprietors, in the penal ſum of three hundred thouſand pounds ſterling, for the true and faithful obſerving, performing, fulfilling, and keeping all and every the covenants herein contained, and which on their parts and behalfs are or ought to be performed, obſerved, fulfilled, and kept as aforeſaid."

"In witneſs, &c."

Copy of the proceedings of the mayor's court of Calcutta on the 1ſt of October, 1766, upon an indenture and affidavit of the right honourable Robert lord Clive, which were carried in ſolemn pro-

proceſſion, by the council and a numerous train of inhabitants to the ſaid court, to be there executed, ſworn to, and recorded.

Mayor's court of Calcutta, at Fort William in Bengal.

At a court held on Wedneſday the firſt day of October, in the ſixth year of the reign of our ſovereign lord George the third, by the grace of God, of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, king, defender of the faith, &c. and in the year of our Lord one thouſand ſeven hundred and ſixty-ſix;

Preſent,

James Liſter, Eſquire, Mayor,

Meſſieurs. { Robert Dobinſon, Thomas Woodward, Cornelius Goodwin, David Killican, Matthew Miller, Thomas French, George Lear and Joſeph Jekyll, } Aldermen

This being the day appointed for the right honourable Robert lord Clive, who now is governor or preſident of Fort William in Bengal aforeſaid, to take an oath, or make an affidavit in the ſaid court, and execute a deed or covenant, in a large penalty, which are expected and intended to be taken or ſwor

ſworn to, and renewed or executed by all future governors or preſidents of Fort William in Bengal aforeſaid.

The ſaid right honourable Robert lord Clive appeared in the ſaid court, attended by general John Carnac, Harry Verelſt, Hugh Watts, Randolph Marriot, Claud Ruſſell, Thomas Rumbold, William Alderſey, Thomas Kelſall, and Charles Ffloyer, Eſquires, and other covenanted ſervants of the honourable company of merchants of England trading to the Eaſt Indies, and other principal * inhabitants of Calcutta aforeſaid; and then and there produced a certain deed, or writing, which is contained in the following words; that is to ſay:

This indenture, made the firſt day of October, in the ſixth year of the reign of our ſovereign lord George

* The proceſſion, conſiſting of at leaſt one hundred and fifty people, including the gentlemens attendants which accompanied this deed and affidavit to the mayor's court, and the profeſſions of diſintereſtedneſs which were on ſo many occaſions made by the governor and ſecret committee of Bengal, perhaps equal any thing that is to be found in the church of Rome, and is ſcarce exceeded by any act of Oliver Cromwell's adminiſtration, as recorded by the elegant pen of David Hume, Eſquire, in his hiſtory of Great Britain, wherein many ſtriking inſtances are to be found exactly parallel to ſeveral tranſactions of the Bengal government during this period.

The uſual proceedings of the ſupreme court of juſtice were thereon put a ſtop to, and the regularity of its records infringed for the oſtentatious reception of an affidavit, and the execution of a deed, which if really neceſſary, might have been as effectually performed by an attorney of the court before one of the judges.

George the third, by the grace of God, of Great Britain, France and Ireland, King, defender of the faith, &c. and in the year of our Lord one thouſand ſeven hundred and ſixty-ſix, between the united company of merchants of England trading to the Eaſt Indies, on the one part, and Robert lord Clive, baron Clive of Plaſſey in the kingdom of Ireland, preſident and governor of Fort William in the kingdom of Bengal, on the other part, witneſſeth, that in conſideration of the ſaid Robert lord Clive's being preſident and governor of Fort William, and in conſideration of the ſeveral ſum and ſums of money to be received by him the ſaid Robert lord Clive, in manner following; that is to ſay, the ſum of * one and one-eighth per cent. upon the revenues of Bengal, Bahar, and Oriſſa, (ſave and except the revenues of the lands of the ſaid united company at Calcutta, Burdwan, Midnapore and Chittigong) to be paid unto him in monthly, quar-

* Without impeaching his lordſhip's diſintereſtedneſs on other occaſions, we muſt remark that at this time his engaging not to trade in conſideration of a commiſſion of one and one eighth per cent. upon the revenues, together with the other benefits he reſerved to himſelf, was no ſacrifice. His lordſhip had determined to come home to Great Britain ſoon after, and actually left Bengal for that purpoſe early in January 1767. And the annual commiſſion agreed for, of one and one-eighth per cent. upon Sicca rupees 21,159,245 (the revenues herein ſpecified, amounts to no leſs a ſum than near 30,000 pounds ſterling; the benefits of which his lordſhip is ſaid to have claimed, or received for ſeveral months after his reſigning the government, by ſtipulation with his ſucceſſor.

quarterly, or yearly payments, during the time he ſhall continue to be preſident and governor of Fort William aforeſaid; and alſo in conſideration of his ſalary, ſtated allowances and commiſſion upon the mint, coral, and upon freight goods; the ſaid Robert lord Clive doth hereby for himſelf, his heirs, executors and adminiſtrators, covenant, promiſe and agree to and with the ſaid united company, and their ſucceſſors, that he, the ſaid Robert lord Clive, during the time he ſhall continue to be preſident and governor of Fort William aforeſaid, ſhall not directly nor indirectly, upon any pretence or pretext whatſoever, carry on, or uſe, or exerciſe any trade or commerce in the way of a merchant, or otherwiſe traffic, adventure, or trade in any commodities whatſoever at, to, in, or from the Eaſt Indies, China, Perſia, or Mocha, or in any part thereof or elſewhere between the Cape of Good Hope and the Streights of Magellan, either on his own account, or in company with or for, or on account of any other perſon or perſons in any article of merchandize whatſoever, (ſave and except for the benefit of the Engliſh Eaſt India company, and except in ſuch goods and merchandizes as ſhall be remaining on hand and unſold at the time he the ſaid Robert lord Clive commenced preſident and governor of Fort William, and wherein he now hath any ſhare or intereſt, which only he ſhall or may ſell, or diſpoſe of, or give commiſſions or directions for ſelling the ſame, and further ſave and except); and it is the true intent and meaning hereof, that nothing herein contained ſhall extend, or be conſtrued to extend to prevent, preclude, or hinder him, the ſaid Robert lord Clive, from purchaſing

chaſing diamonds or other precious ſtones, provided he does not diſpoſe of the ſame by way of barter, or ſale, here or in any other part of the Eaſt Indies, or from ſending or remitting his eſtate and fortune to England by bills, or in any other ſhape whatſoever; nor barter, ſell, or exchange any kind of goods, wares, or merchandizes, nor accept from, nor give to any perſon or perſons commiſſions for managing or tranſacting buſineſs, or affairs of merchandize (except as before is excepted). And the ſaid Robert lord Clive doth hereby further covenant, promiſe and agree to and with the ſaid united company and their ſucceſſors, that the ſaid Robert lord Clive ſhall not, nor will himſelf, nor ſhall wittingly or willingly permit or ſuffer any other perſon or perſons in his name, or to his uſe, to advance, lend, or place out any ſum or ſums of money at a greater rate, premium, or intereſt than 10 per cent per annum; ſo that the leaſt intereſt, ſhare, portion, or dividend, or any other profit, advantage, or emolument whatſoever, ſhall in reſpect thereof exceeding the ſaid premium, or intereſt of 10 per cent. per annum, as aforeſaid, ariſe, or accrue unto him, the ſaid Robert lord Clive, his heirs, executors, or adminiſtrators; or unto any other perſons whatſoever, through friendſhip, favour, or influence exerted by him in their behalf, contrary to the true intent and ſpirit of the oath hereunto annexed. And the ſaid Robert lord Clive doth hereby further covenant and agree, that he ſhall not, nor will upon any account or pretence whatſoever, directly or indirectly accept, take, or receive, nor knowingly, wittingly, or willingly ſuffer or permit to be accepted,

ted, taken, or received, by any perſon or perſons for his uſe or in truſt for him, his heirs, executors, and adminiſtrators; or for any other perſon or perſons whatever, out of perſonal friendſhip to them, or regard to his own intereſt, directly or indirectly; any jewels, effects, ſum, or ſums of money, whether by bonds, bills, notes, obligations, or otherwiſe, or accept of, retain, or keep any fee, gratuity, or reward in jewels, effects, money, obligations, or promiſes or aſſurances of money in writing of any nature, or other thing whatſoever which has been heretofore depoſited for ſervices promiſed to be performed, or favours to be received, or which ſhall hereafter be depoſited, lent, received, or paid into his hands or cuſtody, or into the hands or cuſtody of any other perſon or perſons in truſt for him, nor knowingly permit or ſuffer any other perſon or perſons to receive, take, or accept of the ſame or any part thereof by his authority or influence from any king, prince, vizier, munſubdar, nabob, dewan, fowzdar, zemindar, or from any other perſon or perſons, natural-born ſubjects of the Eaſt Indies, China, Perſia, or Mocha, of what degree, nomination, or quality ſoever; or from any ſervant, agent, or council of any king, prince, vizier, munſubdar, nabob, dewan, fowzdar, or zemindar, exceeding the value or amount ſpecified in the covenants with the ſaid united company. And the ſaid Robert lord Clive doth further covenant and agree, that no other emolument or advantage whatſoever, (excepting as herein excepted) ſhall in any wiſe howſoever, directly or indirectly, ariſe or accrue to him, his heirs, executors, or adminiſtrators, or to any other

perſon whatſoever, through favour or friendſhip either from his office or for, or by reaſon or means of the influence or authority he may have, as preſident and governor; nor will he, the ſaid Robert lord Clive, receive, or knowingly permit any other perſon to receive any fee, gratuity, or advantage from the diſpoſal of any place, employment, or office to any European or any other perſon whatever, in or out of the company's ſervice And in order to a diſcovery to, and ſatisfaction for any actings or doings of the ſaid Robert lord Clive, or breach of any covenant, clauſe, article, or agreement herein contained, contrary to the true intent and meaning hereof; it is hereby agreed, that it ſhall and may, be lawful to and for the ſaid united company, and their ſucceſſors, to exhibit, or file any bill, or bills of complaint of diſcovery in his majeſty's court of chancery, or exchequer at Weſtminſter, or by three or more of the council at Fort William for the time being, on behalf of the ſaid united company, in the honourable the mayor's court for the town of Calcutta at Fort William aforeſaid, or by any other perſon or perſons whatſoever, againſt him, the ſaid Robert lord Clive, his executors and adminiſtrators, whereunto the ſaid Robert lord Clive doth hereby agree, that he will not demur, nor plead in bar of the diſcovery, or relief ſought by ſuch bill or bills, that hereby he is, may or ſhall become liable to any penalty, or forfeiture, by force of any law, or ſtatute, bond, covenant, agreement, or otherwiſe howſoever; but ſhall make, and put in a full and perfect anſwer, or anſwers to all the parts thereof, and ſhall not in

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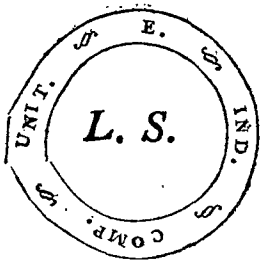
ſuch anſwer, or anſwers inſiſt upon any penalty, forfeiture, law or ſtatute, bond, covenant or agreement, or alledge any matter whatſoever whereby to prevent, bar, or preclude the ſaid company, or any other perſon, or perſons from the diſcovery or relief ſought, or to be ſought by ſuch bill, or bills as aforeſaid. And for the true, full, and faithful performance of every article, clauſe, promiſe, covenant and agreement herein contained, and the true intent and meaning thereof, on the part and behalf of the ſaid Robert lord Clive, he the ſaid Robert lord Clive doth hereby bind and oblige himſelf, his heirs, executors and adminiſtrators, unto the ſaid united company and their ſucceſſors, in the penal ſum of 150,000l. of lawful money of Great Britain, to be recovered in caſe the ſaid Robert lord Clive ſhall act contrary to the true intent and meaning of theſe preſents; one third part of the ſaid ſum of one hundred and fifty thouſand pounds ſterling to be paid and be payable unto ſuch perſon or perſons as ſhall ſue for the ſame, after information and full proof ſhall be made thereof in the court of chancery, exchequer, or the mayor's court at Calcutta, or before the court of directors of the ſaid united company and their ſucceſſors, or before the council at Fort William aforeſaid; and the remaining two thirds, part thereof ſhall be paid to, and for the uſe of the ſaid united company and their ſucceſſors. In witneſs whereof, the preſident and council of Fort William, in behalf of the ſaid united Eaſt India company, have hereunto ſet their hands, and the ſeal of the ſaid company on the one part, and the ſaid Robert lord Clive has ſet his hand and ſeal on the other part,

part, this firſt day of October, in the year of our Lord One thouſand ſeven hundred and ſixty-ſix.

Signed CLIVE. L. S.

Signed, ſealed, and delivered, in Calcutta the day and year above-written, (where no ſtampt paper is to be had) in the preſence of us,



Alexander Campbell,
Henry Strachey,
William Wynne,

Clive,

John Carnac,
Harry Verelſt,
Randolph Marriott,
Hugh Watts,
Claud Ruſſell,
Thomas Rumbold,
William Alderſey,
Thomas Kelſall,
Charles Ffloyer.

And at the ſame time he the ſaid Robert lord Clive produced a certain affidavit, or oath in writing, annexed to the before-mentioned deed or writing, which is contained in the following words; that is to ſay:

In the honourable the mayor's court for the town of Calcutta in Bengal.

I Robert lord Clive, preſident and governor of Fort William in the kingdom of Bengal, in the Eaſt Indies, do voluntarily of my own free will and accord, moſt ſolemnly and ſincerely ſwear, teſtify and depoſe, in the preſence of Almighty God, that I will not from this time forward, during my continuance as preſident, or governor of Ford William, directly or indirectly carry on, uſe, or exerciſe any trade or commerce in the way of a merchant, or otherwiſe traffic, adventure, or trade in any commodities whatſoever, at, to, in, or from the Eaſt Indies, China, Perſia, or Mocha, or in any part thereof, or elſewhere between the Cape of Good Hope and the Streights of Magellan; either on my own account, or in company with, or on account of any other perſon or perſons, in any article of merchandize whatſoever, (ſave and except for the benefit of the Engliſh Eaſt India company, and except in ſuch goods and merchandizes as ſhall be remaining on hand, and unſold at the time I commenced preſident and governor of Fort William, and wherein I now have any ſhare or intereſt, which only I ſhall or may ſell or diſpoſe of, or give commiſſions or directions for the ſelling the ſame; and further, ſave and except, and it is the true intent and meaning hereof, that nothing herein contained ſhall extend or be conſtrued to extend, to prevent, preclude, or hinder me from purchaſing diamonds, or other precious ſtones, provided I do not diſpoſe of the ſame by way of bar-

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ter, or ſale here, or in any other part of the Eaſt Indies, or from ſending or remitting my eſtate and fortune to England by bills or in any other ſhape whatſoever); and that I will not directly or indirectly from henceforward during my continuance as preſident, or governor of Fort William, advance, lend, or place out, nor wittingly or willingly permit or ſuffer any other perſon or perſons in my name, or to my uſe, to advance, lend, or place out any ſum or ſums of money at any rate, premium, or intereſt, exceeding 10 per cent. per annum, ſo that the leaſt intereſt, ſhare, portion, dividend, or any other profit, advantage, or emolument whatſoever ſhall in reſpect thereof, exceeding the premium or intereſt of ten per cent. per annum above-mentioned, ariſe or accrue unto me, my heirs, executors, or adminiſtrators, or unto any other perſon or perſons whatſoever, through friendſhip, favour, or influence exerted by me in their behalf, contrary to the true intent and ſpirit of this oath.

And I do moſt ſolemnly ſwear, that I will not upon any account or pretence whatever, directly or indirectly, accept, take, or receive, nor knowingly, wittingly, or willingly ſuffer or permit to be accepted, taken or received by any perſon or perſons in truſt for me, my heirs, executors or adminiſtrators, or for any perſon or perſons whatever out of perſonal friendſhip to them, or regard to my own intereſt, directly or indirectly, any jewels, effects, ſum or ſums of money, whether by bonds, bills, notes, obligations, or otherwiſe, or accept of, retain, or keep any fee, gratuity,

gratuity, or reward in jewels, effects, money, or obligations, or promises or assurances of money in writing of any nature, or other thing whatsoever, which has been heretofore deposited for services promised to be performed, or favours to be received, or which shall hereafter be deposited, lent, received, or paid into my hands or custody, or to any other persons in trust for me; nor knowingly permit or suffer any other person or persons to receive, take, or accept of the same or any part thereof, by my authority or influence, from any king, prince, vizier, munsubdar, nabob, dewan, fowzdar, zemindar, or from any other person or persons natural-born subjects of the East Indies, China, Persia, or Mocha, of what degree, nomination, or quality soever; or from any servant, or agent, or council of any king, prince, vizier, munsubdar, nabob, dewan, fowzdar, or zemindar, exceeding the value or amount specified in our covenants with the said united company; the full intent and meaning of this oath being, and I do most solemnly swear, that my full and true intent and meaning is, that in consideration of the sum of one and one-eighth per cent. upon the revenues of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, (save and except the revenues of the lands of the said united company at Calcutta, Burdwan, Midnapore, and Chittigong) to be paid to me in monthly, quarterly, or yearly payments, during the time I shall continue to be president and governor of Fort William; and likewise in consideration of my salary, stated allowances, and commission upon the mint, coral, and upon freight goods, and 10 per cent. interest, or premium upon any sum or sums of money I shall

or may hereafter lend, advance, or place out at intereſt as before-mentioned; no other emolument or advantage whatſoever ſhall in any wiſe howſoever, directly or indirectly, ariſe or accrue unto me, my heirs, executors, or adminiſtrators, or to any other perſon whatever, through favour or friendſhip from me, either from my office, or for, or by reaſon or means of the influence and authority I may have as preſident and governor of Fort William.'

I further ſwear, that I will not myſelf receive, or knowingly permit any other perſon to receive any fee, gratuity or advantage from the diſpoſal of any place, employment or office, to any European or any other perſon whatever, in or out of the company's ſervice; and that I will not in any manner break through, or act in any reſpect during the time I ſhall continue to be preſident and governor of Fort William, contrary to any article, covenant, clauſe, promiſe and agreement contained in, or the true intent and meaning of a certain indenture, bearing date this firſt day of October, one thouſand ſeven hundred and ſixty-ſix, and made in mention to be made between the ſaid united company of the one part, and Robert lord Clive, on the other part, but that I will truly and faithfully perform the ſame.

So help me God.

Sworn in open court at Fort William the firſt day of October, in the ſixth year of the reign of king George the third.'

(Signed) Clive.

John Holme, Regiſter.

Where-

Whereupon the ſaid deed or writing was publicly, audibly and diſtinctly read over in the ſaid court; and immediately afterwards the ſaid affidavit, or oath in writing, was in the ſame manner read over in the ſaid court, and then and there duly taken and ſworn to by him, the ſaid Robert lord Clive.

In order to compare the modern trade of the Engliſh in Bengal, with the early trade of the Europeans in the interior provinces of Indoſtan, it is neceſſary to give an hiſtorical account of the ſucceſſive merchants, adventurers of divers nations, who obtained a licence from the emperors of Indus to trade with their ſubjects, and to erect factories in their dominions, for their commercial advantage and ſecurity.

The Portugueze were the firſt European nation who firſt ventured to penetrate into theſe remote regions. It was owing to the enterpriſing genius, ſagacity, reſolution and perſeverance of one of their princes, whoſe merit and diſcoveries diſregarded by his cotemporaries, has met with more juſtice from poſterity; that the fame and proſperity of theſe Luſitanians reach'd the moſt diſtant parts of the hoſpitable globe.

This prince was Don Henrique, fourth ſon of John the firſt, king of Portugal, by his queen Philippa, daughter of John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaſter, fourth ſon of the third Edward, the renowned king of England. Don Henrique, Duke of Viſeu received from his uncle Henry the fourth of England, with his father and his two brothers the enſigns of the order of the garter. His genius directed to uſeful ſtudies enriched his nation with naval

naval diſcoveries. Europe got from him the firſt knowledge and his country the valuable acquiſition of the Madeira and Azores iſlands, and the ſucceſſive diſcoveries he directed, had before his death intended for on the coaſt of Guinea.

His example and ſucceſs induced the Portugueze to purſue thoſe honourable and uſeful undertakings, which were gradually extended to the Cape of Good Hope, firſt known by the cape of ſtorms, diſcovered by Bartholomew Dias in 1487, five years before Columbus had the glorious ſight of another hemiſphere. This cape, after many fruitleſs attempts of other navigators, was ſucceſsfully doubled towards the end of the year 1497, by Vageo de Gama, who purſued his voyage afterwards to Calicut on the coaſt of Malabar; where in progreſſion many other eſtabliſhments were afterwards made.

The early fruits of this national emulation were the acquiſition of the parts of Angelia, which ſoon made the Portugueze maſters of that kingdom, and likewiſe the Iſland of Maſambrque to the eaſtward of the Cape, from which Iſland for a long time, they carried on a profitable trade with the inhabitants of the oppoſite coaſt of Africa, for gold duſt, elephants teeth, cowries, &c.

There are ſeveral good harbours on the eaſtern coaſt of Africa, extending from the Cape of Good Hope, northward to the red ſea; particularly thoſe of Sefala and Melinda. It is well known, that the country of Monomotapa, on the ſhore of which Sofala is ſituated, has very rich gold mines, and abundance of elephants; but as it is ſituated to the eaſtward of the Cape of Good Hope, the coaſt is within

within the extenſive limits of thoſe regions to which the Eaſt India company have an excluſive right of trading; they make little other uſe of it than for taking in water and cattle on their voyages. The India company's excluſive right of trade to this country, which might be made a fruitful ſource of commerce, prevent others from attaining an advantage of which they will not avail themſelves, which is an object deſerving national conſideration.

The navigation to India being thus opened by the Portugueze, it would probably ſoon have introduced many rivals to them in thoſe ſeas, had not the diſcovery of America ſo ſpeedily followed it; the nearer ſituation of which country, and the great importations of ſilver which Spain made from thence, engaged other nations to prefer the new world, and particularly the Engliſh, who were early and ſucceſsful in their American diſcoveries.

Portugal therefore was a long time unrivalled in their Aſiatic commerce, and notwithſtanding bigotry and religious perſecution, the natural enemies of arts and induſtry, prevented their free intercourſe with the natives, yet this kingdom was gradually enriched by it to an amazing degree. The proſperity of Portugal continued to the time of the failure of the male branches of the royal family, when Philip the ſecond of Spain availing himſelf of this opportunity, to take poſſeſſion of that kingdom, their conqueſts in America; their frequent wars with other powers, as well as with their own ſubjects in the Netherlands, made the Spaniards ſo attractive to other purſuits, as to ſtimulate the Dutch, when they had caſt off the yoke

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of their oppreſſors, to eſtabliſh after their example a formidable power in the eaſt, to the great prejudice of the Portugueze ſettlements in Aſia, Africa, and America.

It was owing to the jealouſy which Spain entertained of the Portugueze, contrary to their own intereſt, to their ambitious views in Europe, and to their predilection for America, that the Dutch became the monopolizers of the ſpice trade in India, which is the moſt valuable of the branches of eaſtern luxury, the times could not be more favourable to the Dutch encroachments, as the general peace of Europe was diſturbed by religious and civil revolutions.

In the firſt æra of the Portugueze power in India, their merchants uſed to trade in the inland parts of Indoſtan, ſuch as Agra, Azmeer, Burtampore, Lehorne and down the river Indus to Talta and Amadavat. As early as the year 1563, they uſed to ſend forty-five ſhips from Bengal, loaded with rice, cloth, ſugar, long pepper, wood, oil and other commodities to the Malabar coaſt every year.

In theſe times, every poſſible encouragement was given by the Moguls to merchants of all nations, who, contrary to the preſent impolitic conduct of the Engliſh Eaſt India company, were allowed free ingreſs and regreſs for their traffic to and from Bengal, by land and by water; inſomuch that large caravans over land were uſed to come from the moſt diſtant parts, even from Muſcovy, as well as large fleets of boats down the rivers Jumne and Ganges, for the purpoſes of trade into Bengal and the adjacent provinces.

Mr.

Mr. Ralph Filch one of queen Elizabeth's ambaſſadors to the emperor Okbur, ſays, that in the year 1585, when he went from Agra to Bengal, he ſet off in the company of many merchants, with a fleet of 180 boats, down the Jumne, loaded with ſalt (meaning a ſpecies of rock ſalt called ſemball) opium, carpets and other commodities.

The Portugueze from their bigotted zeal, and their avarice, had been guilty of ſuch oppreſſions towards the natives, as ſerved effectually to root in their hearts an antipathy towards the Europeans. This, and the rivalſhip of the Dutch and Engliſh ruined their affairs in India, ever ſince the year 1600. From the time of the Portugueze firſt acquiring power on the Malabar coaſt, they demoliſhed the idol of the Gentoos, and endeavoured by perſecution to force them to the profeſſion of chriſtianity, which proved deſtructive of all commercial intercourſe; and as ſoon as the natives found protection and toleration in any new European ſettlement, all the trade in the neighbouring Portugueze parts gradually declined. John III. king of Portugal in a letter dated the 8th of March 1546, to Don Juande Caſtro, who died viceroy of India, a nobleman of high character, gave him the moſt rigorous inſtructions for the extirpation of idolaters. The Gentoos about Goa are to this day obliged to go ſeveral leagues from the city, whenever they perform any of their religious ceremonies.

The trade of England directly with India, was hardly heard of till towards the latter end of the reign of queen Elizabeth, who in the year 1600, granted her firſt charter, or letters patent to certain

tain adventurers of this country, for fifteen years, which ſhe had the precaution to make revocable at pleaſure; on two years notice being given under the privy ſeal. A new company was eſtabliſhed in the reign of Charles II. and the acquiſition of Bombay, part of the dowry of his queen Catherine, made their moſt important ſettlement. Yet this trade during the reign of Charles and James the ſecond was very limited, as the company was circumſcribed to fix good ſhips and ſix pinnaces to be employed therein. Thus the conſtitution of England was violated for the ſake of eſtabliſhing a commercial monopoly, though their operations were ſo confined. Portugal in theſe days had recovered its independency, and India ſtill continued to be a great object with that kingdom. One of the national tributes to the marriage of Charles with the infanta Catherine, being the ceſſion of Bombay to the crown of England; Charles whoſe neceſſity was the conſequence of his profuſion to miſtreſſes and ſycophants, received an equivalent from the company for this acquiſition, who likewiſe paid him for granting to them an excluſive charter. King William himſelf, his miniſters and ſome members of his council received a proportionate ſum, when a new charter was granted to the company, without any limitation whatever to their trade.

Either the advantages of this excluſive trade muſt have been known to Charles II. as there were ſome ſecret motives for fettering in ſuch a manner, ſo important an undertaking. Thoſe who attained the firſt charter after the revolution, were [illegible]

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guid in their meaſures, as to give encouragement to a ſet of adventurers to eſtabliſh a new company in defiance of the royal prerogative, and in oppoſition to a body of men, who ought to have been poſſeſſed of ſuch knowledge, from experience, as would have given them material advantages over rivals leſs practiſed in the buſineſs. The Eaſt India trade was very inſignificant till after the revolution. The rival contention of the two companies, which ſhould have encouraged them to ſpirited undertakings, continued till the 6th of queen Anne, when by an act of parliament the two companies were united. This conſolidated company has exiſted ever ſince, and by a late extenſion of that which they poſſeſs at preſent, they are likely to exiſt till the year 1785.

Since the union of the two companies, the immenſe improvement of our American and African commerce have conſiderably augmented the conſumption of Indian commodities; as well as the great increaſe of the callico-printing buſineſs in this kingdom, owing to an extended foreign demand through a variety of channels. The uſe of tea became univerſal in this kingdom, and the colonies has diſſeminated through the habitable globe this preferable branch of Indian traffic.

In the early periods of the Eaſt India trade the Engliſh as well as other European adventurers, uſed to trade freely inland, under the protection of the mogul government, tranſporting their goods in the carriages of the country called hekeeries, to the moſt interior parts of Indoſtan, where they carried on a conſiderable trade in Indigo, which uſed to anſwer very well till the cultivation of that

plant in America; but upon the confuſion introduced, after the provinces of the empire were diſmembered, rendered the ſecurity of merchants entirely precarious; they became ſubject to very great impoſitions, from the new ſovereigns of theſe provinces through which they paſſed, who exacted conſiderable ſums for reparations of pretended injuries, or grants of privileges diſputed afterwards. When the affairs of the united company became reduced to a more regular ſyſtem, none in their ſervice, or under their juriſdiction were permitted to go far into the inland country, without leave from the governor and council of which place, at which they reſided. Theſe reſtrictions were prudent and neceſſary, with regard to the ſervants of the company and their dependents, while the country continued in ſo unſettled a ſtate; but ſince thoſe countries are ſubject to the Engliſh company's abſolute dominions, inſtead of more indulgence and freedom, the merchants have only changed their ſubjection to the nabob's exactions for all the accumulated evils of lawleſs oppreſſion, and monopolies injurious to their trade, and calculated to rob them of the fruits of their induſtry.

The whole trade of the Engliſh Eaſt India company in Bengal conſiſts in the ſale of broad-cloth, perpets, copper, iron, lead, and a few other commodities from Europe; and in the purchaſe of piece goods, ſilk, drugs, ſaltpetre and other articles for the cargoes of their ſhips bound homewards. The Dutch beſides their European imports and exports, carry on a conſiderable trade on their company's account, from port to port in India, particularly in japan copper, tin, camphire, tute-

tutenage, ſugar, ſpices, china-ware, arrack, &c. but the only trade of this kind carried on for account of the Engliſh company is a little opium from Bengal to Bencoolen, about 600 bales of cotton on a ſhip, now and then from Bombay or Surat, as tonnage offers, and a little pepper from Bencoolen to China, all of which is very inconſiderable.

All the goods imported by the Engliſh company into Bengal are ſold at ſtated periods by public auction, called in India an outcry: and upon the ſale, a diſcount of nine, ſix or three per cent. is allowed, according as the purchaſer clears out his goods within the limited time. To theſe outcries all perſons, without diſtinction are invited by the allowance of a duſtuck for ſuch goods as they purchaſe, which is given by the governor upon the clearing them out.

The preverſion of the inveſtment (by which is underſtood the goods purchaſed at firſt hand, from the weavers or manufacturers) for the cargoes of ſhips returning to Europe, is made from advances in ready money in the inland countries, partly under the direction of the chiefs and reſidents at the company's ſubordinate factories of Chittigong, Luckypore, Dacca, Coſſembazar, Maldah, Patna, Burdwan and Midnapore, who ſend black agents into the interior parts for that purpoſe, under the direction of a member of the board of council at Calcutta, who fills the poſt of export warehouſekeeper.

The ſole lawful difference between the trade of the Engliſh Company and the trade of the Engliſh free merchants and free mariners, as it was ever underſtood and practiſed in India during the inde-

independency of the mogul government, was that the company's goods, by virtue of the mogul's firmaun, confirmed afterwards by the uſurping nabob's in their treaties with the company, paſſed with their permit, duty free, while thoſe of the free merchants and other traders were expoſed to the payment of the duties eſtabliſhed by the country government.

The Portugueze have, for a conſiderable time paſt, ſcarce carried on any regular trade at their ſettlement of Bandell; the Dutch, French and Danes, the latter of whom obtained at their ſettlement of Serampore their ſunnud from the nabob Allavandy Khawn, about three and twenty years ago, ought likewiſe to poſſeſs the privilege of trading in all articles without exception; paying no duties on ſuch goods as they import, but only two and one half per cent. at Hoogly on what they export by ſea, conforming in all other articles of trade to the eſtabliſhed cuſtom of the empire. They likewiſe poſſeſs a ſmall diſtrict of land round each of their ſettlements, and have been always uſed to give alſo their reſpective duſtucks, with their goods.

The Armenians have ever been a great commercial body in Indoſtan, and had conſiderable ſettlements at Bengal, particularly at Sydabad. Their commerce was likewiſe eſtabliſhed by the mogul's firmaun, whereby the duties on the two principal articles of their trade, piece goods, and raw ſilk were fixed at three and one and a half per cent. but after the ſubverſion of the mogul empire, and during the reign of the nabob uſurpers, they were like the Europeans, expoſed at times to

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great impoſitions and interruptions of their trade: at preſent, ſince the Engliſh company have taken the ſovereignty of the country into their own hands, they all trade under the appearance of the old forms, ſubject in all places as within the Bengal provinces, out of the juriſdiction of their reſpective ſettlements, to ſuch regulations as the Engliſh are pleaſed to impoſe on them, with the enjoined ſanction of the nominal Nabob's; which regulations on divers occaſions amount to a total prohibition of their trade, being in general a temporary, often contradictory, and wholly calculated for obſtruction. When the foreigners prove refractory the fowzdar of Hoogly is ordered to ſurround their ſettlements with troops, in the name of the nabob, to ſtop their proviſions, and interrupt their trade. This has been frequently practiſed. Thus the difference between the lawful trade of the company's ſervants, and other perſons reſiding under the company's protection was, that the covenanted ſervants of the company, were by the connivance of the country government and long eſtabliſhed uſage, indulged with duſtucks for carrying on their trade duty free, while the others for want of that permit, were ſubjected to the payment of the government duties. The inconveniencies and impoſitions to which the European free traders were expoſed, for want of this order, were ſuch as generally induced them to prefer contracting with the company's ſervants for the delivery of ſuch goods as they wanted in Calcutta; this in fact amounted to almoſt a total excluſion from the inland trade, from one place to another, which when Bengal flouriſhed was very beneficial.

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With reſpect to the trade that was actually carried on within the company's ſettlements of Calcutta, Madraſs and Bombay, all were upon an equal footing.

Such was the ſituation of trade before the Engliſh company made themſelves the ſovereigns of Bengal; and this repreſentation is agreeable to the ideas of the former courts of directors in England; who in their general letters to India, in the year 1757, gave directions upon this ſubject to their different preſidencies in this manner: "That all perſons under the protection of the company ſhould have the liberty of reſorting to, and trading at all and any of the company's ſettlements in the Eaſt Indies, and at all other places within the company's limits, in as full, true and extenſive manner as the reſt of the company's ſervants; they paying the duties according to the uſual and cuſtomary methods and rates eſtabliſhed at ſuch places;" and about the ſame time, in order to aſcertain the rights of perſons reſiding upon the Weſtern coaſt of Sumatra, the court of directors were alſo pleaſed to give their inſtructions to the preſident and council at Bombay, in the following words. "All perſons reſiding upon the Weſtern coaſt of Sumatra, who ſhall reſort to, and trade either by themſelves or their agents, at Fort St. George, Fort William or Bombay, and their reſpective dependencies are to buy and ſell publicly or privately, as they themſelves ſhall chooſe; dealing freely and without reſtraint with whomſoever they ſhall think proper; and if contrary to this article, they ſhall be oppreſſed or injured by any perſon whatſoever, ſuch perſons, let their rank be what it may, will

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incur our higheſt diſpleaſure, and ſhall certainly feel the weight of our reſentment." Thoſe were the judicious orders given for the protection of trade by former courts of directors, and whoever has any notions of trade, muſt be perſuaded, that it is the intereſt of the company to encourage private traders of all nations in India, as the ſale of their ſtaple imports muſt increaſe in proportion to the number of the purchaſers, and the manufacturers are encouraged, according to the quantity of goods brought to market, upon the ſyſtem of a free inland trade. But ſince the Engliſh Eaſt India company are become ſovereigns, they and their ſubſtitutes have been excluſively the ſole merchants in Bengal, and ſeem to have adopted ſentiments totally repugnant to the true ſpirit of mercantile affairs; they have of late even ventured to aſſert, that they alone have a right to trade in India; and in conſequence of that abſurd opinion, they have directed certain merchants, inhabitants of Calcutta, not to trade; alledging, that though they might have a legal right to reſide at their ſettlements, they could have no right to trade there, which is a contradiction, as a merchant appears no longer in that capacity, when he is precluded from exerting his profeſſion.

It is true, that ſuch reſtrictions have never been laid but upon particular perſons, whom the company deſigned to oppreſs. But the ſtate of the company's government muſt be very deſpicable, wherein the general ſyſtem of juſtice is perverted for the ſake of diſtreſſing an individual.

This abſurd and impolitical doctrine has never been maintained and enforced till within ten years paſt,

paſt, ſince which time every manoeuvre of the governor ſeems to have been directed to an iniquitous monopoly of the interior trade of Bengal; to effect this, the oppreſſions and hardſhips practiſed to deſtroy the manufacturers of the country are unexampled, the monopolies of the company have occaſioned frequent complaints from the agents of the French and the Dutch companies; the laſt, upon a recent diſpute made propoſals to the Engliſh for a participation of the weavers. As nothing can ſhew the ſtate of the company's inland trade, better than the words of their preſident and council at Calcutta, upon this very ſubject, in a general letter to the directors, dated the 14th of September 1767. We ſhall inſert here the 62d paragraph, which was as follows:

"A participation of the weavers would be to throw off the maſk, and acknowledge ourſelves the ſovereigns of the country. It would counter-act in the moſt expreſſive manner the profeſſions we make, the appearances we neceſſarily aſſume and the endeavours we uſe of ſeeming to act from the nabob's authority only. In a word; the diſproportion of hands, neceſſary to form their inveſtment and yours would appear ſo great, that we could not accept the propoſals of participation, without confeſſing all that policy required ſhould be concealed."

Various and innumerable are the methods of oppreſſing the poor weavers, which are daily practiſed by the company's agents and gomaſtahs in the country; ſuch as fines, impriſonments, floggings, exacting bonds from them, &c. by which the number of weavers in the couutty has been greatly decreaſed. The natural conſequences have been the ſcarcity, dearneſs and debaſement of the

factures, as well as a great diminution of the revenues; and the proviſion of the company's inveſtment has thereby now become a monopoly to the almoſt entire excluſion of all others, excepting the higheſt company's ſervants, who having the management of the inveſtment, provide for themſelves and their friends regardleſs of the company's intereſt. The foreign companies are alſo permitted to make ſome ſmall inveſtments to prevent clamours in Europe.

It is ſcarcely poſſible to conceive the exiſtence of ſuch cruel oppreſſions and ruinous meaſures as have taken place in the Bengal province of late years; but particularly ſince the Engliſh Eaſt India company are become the ſovereigns of a rich and potent kingdom, and their government in Bengal, military as well as civil.

When the grand Mogul, Fanakſeer, granted his firmaun for exempting the Engliſh from the payment of all duties, their trade was very inſignificant, and their legal poſſeſſions of lands were circumſcribed within forty leagues, about fifteen acres round every factory. From that time to the year 1753, it was the cuſtom for the company in Bengal generally to provide their goods upon contracts with the merchants, who received a part of the money in advance. The merchants known by the appellation of dadney merchants contracted under penalties, to deliver the goods at ſtated times and prices, at the company's principal ſettlements, and were of courſe amenable to the laws of the country, when they or their agents were guilty of irregular practices: in that ſituation, the detriment accruing to the government from the great

partiality ſhewn to the Engliſh in preference to the mogul's ſubjects, was comparatively inconſiderable; but the mogul had certainly no conception of the great advantages of this commerce, and its improvements, on which he had granted ſo unlimited an exemption from duties.

The preference granted to the Engliſh gave them great advantages when they came to deal with the weavers in the inland country, where the factors and agents employed by the company, in this change on the mode of providing their inveſtment, were in general treated with great reſpect. This influence increaſed with the power of the Engliſh company; ſo that after the defeat of Serajah al Dowlah, in 1756, that nabob was forced to engage "that he or his officers, ſhould on no account interfere with the gomaſtahs of the Engliſh; but that care ſhould be taken that their buſineſs ſhould not be obſtructed in any way; and theſe agents ſo well availed themſelves of this new acquired power, that after colonel Clive had made the firſt nabob of the company, Jaffier ally Khawn, in the year 1757.

The company's black agents in every diſtrict aſſumed a juriſdiction, which even the authority of the Rajahs and Zemindars in the country durſt not withſtand. Inſtances of this influence, ſo detrimental to the country are to be met with in every part of Mr. Vanſittart's narrative.

As the trade of the company increaſed, and with it the inland trade of their ſervants in a much greater proportion, theſe evils which at firſt were ſcarcely felt, became at laſt univerſal through the Bengal provinces; and the whole inland trade of

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the country, as conducted for ſome years paſt, eſpecially that of the company's inveſtment for Europe, has been one continued ſcene of oppreſſion: the baneful effects of which are ſeverely felt by every weaver and manufacturer. In the country, every article produced being a monopoly, in which the Engliſh with their banzars and black agents, arbitrarily decide what quantity of goods each manufacturer ſhall deliver, and the prices he ſhall receive for them.

To increaſe the amount of the company's inveſtment of goods for Europe, beyond what was ſent by his predeceſſor, has been the conſtant endeavour of every ſucceeding governor of Bengal, in order to acquire reputation with the company. To obtain this increaſe, a cruel ſeverity has been uſed towards the manufacturers, who labour under divers intolerable hardſhips; being forced to ſubmit to the general monopoly of the company and their ſervants, as the moſt abject ſlaves; this injuſtice and oppreſſion have occaſioned frequent complaints from the agents of the French and Dutch companies, and theſe propoſals for a participation of the weavers mentioned before. The ſeverities practiſed towards theſe poor induſtrious people, who are generally both manufacturers and huſbandmen, are ſcarcely to be deſcribed; for it frequently happens, that while the officers of the collections are diſtreſſing them one way for their eſtabliſhed rents, the peon's or foot ſoldiers from the company's agents, on the other hand, are preſſing them for their goods in ſuch a manner, as to put it out of their power to pay their rents. Whatever plauſible reaſons have been given by the company's

pany's ſervants to juſtify the tyranny exerciſed on the oppreſſed manufacturers while the country belonged to another power, as ſorded and rapacious merchants whoſe only object was the profit ariſing from trade. Now that they have uſurped the ſovereignty of Bengal, the continuation of ſuch a practice, may be compared to that of the ſavages of Congo, who cut the tree to gather the fruit.

For the better underſtanding the nature of theſe oppreſſions, it is ptoper to explain the method of providing an inveſtment of piece goods, if conducted either by the export warehouſe keeper, and the company's ſervants at the ſubordinate factories on the company's account, or by the Engliſh gentlemen in the ſervice of the company, as their own private ventures. In either caſe, factors or agents, called gomaſtahs, are engaged at monthly wages, by the gentleman's banyan, who is at the ſame time his interpreter, head book-keeper, head ſecretary, head broker, caſh, and ſecret keeper; there being generally on each expedition into the country, one principal agent, one clerk, and one caſh keeper appointed, with ſome ſubſtitutes, called peors, and hincarats, for the purpoſe of intelligence; the latter carrying letters to and fro, which, for want of regular paſſes, every merchant does at his own expence. Theſe are diſpatched with a pervannah from the governor of Calcutta to the zemindar of the diſtricts where the purchaſes are intended to be made; directing him not to impede their buſineſs, but to give them every aſſiſtance in his power. The next ſtep, is to purchaſe a convenient ſum, in ſuch ſpecies of rupees in the Bazar, at the batta current,

current, or rate of exchange among the money changers, as will beſt anſwer in the intended diſtricts of purchaſe, which is diſpatched for the firſt advances to the weavers; and afterwards generally a proportion of ſuch goods as is imagined can be ſold advantageouſly in the ſaid diſtricts, and realized in time for the latter advances in full to the weavers are alſo diſpatched with the company's permit, and conſigned to theſe agents. Upon their arrival in the manufacturing towns, they fix upon a habitation, called cutcherry, a ſort of warehouſe, to which they ſummon the brokers together, with the weavers; when after the receipt of part of the money in advance, they make them ſign a bond for the delivery of a certain quantity of goods, at a ſtated price and fixed time. The aſſent of the poor weaver is in general not deemed neceſſary, for the agents when employed in the company's inveſtment, frequently make them ſign what they pleaſe; and upon the weavers refuſing to take the money offered, they frequently tied it to their girdles and ſent them away with a ſevere flogging. The brokers employed by theſe mercileſs agents, know and have accounts with all the weavers of their reſpective diſtricts: they are often as much oppreſſed as the weavers; but when ſeperately employed, they always make the latter pay for it. A number of theſe weavers are generally alſo regiſtered in the books of the company's agents, and not permitted to work for any others, being transferred from one to another as ſo many ſlaves, ſubject to the tyranny and villainy of every ſucceeding gomaſtah. The cloth when made, is collected in a warehouſe for the purpoſe, where it is kept, marked

marked with the weaver's name, till it is convenient for the agent to aſſert and fix the price of each piece; in which buſineſs, is employed an officer called the company's aſſerter. The roguery practiſed in this department is beyond imagination, but all terminates in the defrauding the poor weaver: for the prices which the company's agents, in confederacy with the aſſerters, fix upon the goods, are in all places at leaſt fifteen per cent. and in ſome even forty per cent. leſs than the goods manufactured would ſell for in the public market, upon a free ſale. The weaver, therefore, deſirous of obtaining the juſt price of his labour, frequently attempts to ſell his cloth privately to others, particularly to the Dutch and French agents, who are always ready to receive it. This occaſions the company's agent to ſet his ſpies over the weaver to watch him, who frequently cut the piece out of the loom when nearly finiſhed. With this uncontroulable power, the agents are never deficient in providing for themſelves, as many goods as they can on their account, and for the banyans; which they either ſell to the agents of foreign companies on the ſpot, or diſpatch to Calcutta with the goods of their conſtituents, under cover of the company's duſtucks; if there is any market at all, they are ſure in either caſe to get at leaſt twenty per cent. on the goods thus clandeſtinely provided.

In the time of the Mogul government, and even in that of the nabob Alverdy Khawn, the weavers manufactured their goods freely, and without oppreſſion; it was then a common practice for reputable families of the tants or weaver caſt

caſt, to employ their own capitals in manfacturing goods, which they ſold freely on their own accounts. There is a gentleman now in England who in the time of that nabob, purchaſed in the Decca province, in one morning eight hundred pieces of muſlin at his own door, brought to him by the weavers of their own accord. It was not till the time of Sujah al Dowlah, that theſe oppreſſions commenced, and the evil gradually increaſed, upon the Engliſh company changing the mode of providing their inveſtments. In Serajah Dowlah's time, there were above ſeven hundred families of weavers in the diſtricts round Jungulburry; on the introdcution of this cruel monopoly, they all at once abandoned their country and their trade. Since theſe days, the natives have had no nabob to apply in caſes of oppreſſion, but ſuch as were dependent of the Engliſh company, againſt whom they could not ſeek for redreſs.

With every ſpecies of monopoly, every kind of oppreſſion to manufacturers, of all denominations throughout the whole country, has daily increaſed; inſomuch that wearers for daring to ſell their goods, and broker's for having connived at ſuch ſales, have by the company's agents frequently ſeized and impriſoned, confined in irons, fined conſiderable ſums of money, flogged, and deprived in the moſt ignominious manner of what they eſteem moſt valuable, their caſts. Weavers alſo upon their inability to perform ſuch agreements as have been forced from them by the company's agents, have had their goods ſeized and ſold on the ſpot, to make good the deficiency: and the wind-

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ers of raw ſilk, have been treated alſo with ſuch indignity, that inſtances have been known of their cutting off their thumbs in rage and deſpair, to prevent their being able to wind ſilk.

This laſt kind of workmen were purſued with ſuch rigour during Lord Clive's late government in Bengal, from the moſt ſelfiſh and iniquitious maſters, that the moſt ſacred laws of ſociety were violated with atrociouſneſs and impunity. For it was a common thing for the noble lord and his committee, to ſend the company's ſeapoys with orders to break open by force of arms the houſes of the Armenian merchants eſtabliſhed at Sydabed, who have from time immemorial been largely concerned in the ſilk trade, and to take forcibly the negeads, or winders of raw ſilk from their work and drag them to the Engliſh factory.

Excluſive of the Engliſh company's inveſtment, the worſt of all monopolies, and of what the foreign companies are permitted to provide, in order to prevent clamours in Europe: the whole inland trade in almoſt every thing elſe that the country produces, and even in ſome principal articles of foreign import, has been monopolized, by a few of the ſuperior ſervants of the Engliſh company, with their banyans and favourites.

And not only every public meaſure adopted by the government at Calcutta, has been calculated to favour the eſtabliſhment of ſuch monopolies, but even the contradictory and injudicious orders of the court directors, on divers occaſions, from a want of local knowledge and ſometimes from connivance at the iniquitous proceedings of their ſervants abroad, or from the

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ſtate of parties in Leadenhall-ſtreet, have promoted ſuch daring acts of tyranny and oppreſſion as are unparallelled in the annals of civilized nations.

A remarkable inſtance of this want of local knowledge was given before the houſe of commons, on the 9th and 10th of April 1764, by two directors of the company then examined at the bar; one of whom declared he had been ten years, and the other twenty in the direction. They had both occupied the chair of the company, and yet declared they did not know the Danes had any ſettlement in Bengal, notwithſtanding their town and factory of Serampore is only about ten miles diſtant from Calcutta, upon the river Hoogly.

The agents of the foreign companies are obliged to pay an exorbitant price, for the goods they are allowed to purchaſe; and the honeſt private merchant cannot give a full ſcope to his induſtry, as he is compelled to provide ſecretly the moſt part of the few goods he is permitted to purchaſe.

The monopoly of cotton imported by ſea from Surat, is equally deſtructive of the callico manufactories and the company's revenues. This was a combination amongſt moſt of the gentlemen of the council at Calcutta, to engroſs as much as they could of the Bombay and Surat cotton. Their original concern on this monopoly amounted to upwards of 300,000 pounds ſterling, which they divided in ſhares among themſelves. The prices of cotton which in Bengal, before this monopoly were at ſixteen and eighteen rupees per maund, eighty pounds weight, were ſoon raiſed to thirty rupees; but at that time, the crop of cotton having proved very plentiful, and a great quantity being alſo unexpectedly

expectedly imported in a new track of trade, from a diſtant country down the rivers Jumna and Ganges greatly prejudiced the ſales of the monopolizers. Two expedients were therefore thought of to facilitate the ſales of their cotton; one was, to employ the nominal deputy nabob; but in fact the only man in power under the company's ſervants, Mahomet Reza Khawn, at Marſhadabad, to take and diſtribute it among the Zemindars; and the other was, by means of the ſame mock authority, to prevent the importation of the cotton from the upper countries. Accordingly a conſiderable quantity was actually ſent from Calcutta to Mahomet Raza Khawn, and diſtributed among the Zemindars; and on the borders of the Bahar province; a new and extraordinary duty of above thirty per cent was levied upon the cotton brought down from the high country; which was a moſt effectual method of preventing its introduction into the Bengal provinces.

The next public monopoly of late practiſed, has been that of piece goods, for the markets of Buſſorah, Judda, Mocha, Bombay, Surat and Madraſs. Of theſe goods there are many ſorts, which the Engliſh company do not deal in, yet in procuring them, the ſame oppreſſions are practiſed, under the company's influence, as if it was for their inveſtment.

For the diſpoſal of theſe goods, another monopoly is eſtabliſhed of the excluſive right of exportation, particularly to Buſſorah, Juddah and Mocha, which uſed to be the moſt profitable voyages. For this purpoſe the governor and council of Calcutta fitted out ſhips, generally known by the denomi-

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nation of the freight ſhips, on which the goods of this joint concern are firſt ſhipped, and the remainder of the tonnage is filled up on freight. The management of this traffic is under the direction of a member of the council, who is acting owner, and keeps a warehouſe for this purpoſe, generally known in Calcutta by the name of the freight warehouſe. When one of theſe freight ſhips is ſet up, no other perſons among the few that can provide goods, dare attempt to ſet up another on the ſame voyage, without the permiſſion of the governor and council; nor is any perſon ſuffered to load their goods in any other ſhips for theſe markets, until the loading of the freight ſhip of the governor and council be compleated. Frequent inſtances have been known of the goods of private merchants even Europeans, but particularly thoſe belonging to Armenians, Moguls and Gentoos, being in conſequence of this monopoly, ſtopped on the public road, and by force carried to the freight warehouſe; and the proprietors of ſuch goods have been obliged, contrary to their wills, to ſee their goods ſhipped on veſſels they had no good opinion of, and going on voyages, the deſtination and management of which were often contrived to their detriment. In conſequence of which, thoſe merchants have frequently loſt their ſales, have had their goods damaged, left at ports they never deſigned they ſhould touch at, and have ſometimes loſt even their merchandize. By theſe unwarrantable proceedings, ſeveral families of Armenians, principal traders in this branch to Perſia and Arabia, have been reduced to beggary.

The moſt notorious monopolies of the inland trade, put in practice by the governor and council of Calcutta are of an infinite prejudice to merchants, who are ſtrictly prohibited from ſending their agents into the interior country to purchaſe any goods without an order from the preſident of Fort William.

An order of council was alſo iſſued, prohibiting all Engliſhmen from quitting Calcutta, or reſiding at any ſubordinate factory, or in the inland country, under a pretence, that they were guilty of oppreſſions towards the natives. This reſtriction was ſaid to originate in the Eaſt-India directors, and intended to ſtop thoſe irregularities. But it was in fact deviſed by the company's ſervants to favour the eſtabliſhment and continuation of monopolies, and to prevent diſcoveries of tranſactions of a more private nature in the inland country, where many ſecrets lay buried. However, when the gentlemen of the ſecret committee, who publiſhed that order, found it convenient for carrying on their monopolies in ſalt, beetle-nut and tobacco, to appoint their agents in different parts of the country for the ſale of thoſe commodities, they did not heſitate to ſtation them in the ſubordinate factories for their private emoluments. Even the gentlemen who concurred in opinion of the propriety of that order upon this occaſion, had before given their ſentiments in direct oppoſition to ſuch a meaſure.

It ſeems ſtrange that the governor of a country could fancy that it was inconſiſtent with their intereſt to permit their fellow ſubjects to inhabit the territories of which they were the acting ſove-

reigns.

reigns. Such an order from the governor and council of Calcutta, proved that they were totally unqualified for holding the reins of government, which they had taken into their hands. The abſurdity of this reſolution is too glaring to need a commentary; it put the Engliſhmen upon a worſe footing than foreigners in a country conquered by their own nation; ſince the governor and council thereby deprived them of that right, which the French, Dutch and Danes, who have ſettlements in Bengal, enjoyed without moleſtation.

The conduct and policy of the Dutch company have produced very different effects. Ever ſince their firſt eſtabliſhment at the Cape of Good Hope, they have encouraged new ſettlements of their nation, who now inhabit the inland parts at the diſtance of above ſix hundred miles from their chief preſidency; there by a well regulated police, an impartial adminiſtration of juſtice, cultivation and induſtry, they have rendered their colony on that rocky mountain ſo abundant in wine, cattle, grain, and all the products of the earth, that this beautiful and flouriſhing ſpot gives occaſion for a great comparative reproach on the ſhallow views of the Engliſh company.

The infatuation of the governor and council of Calcutta went farther; on the 18th of May 1768, they publiſhed an edict prohibiting not only the company's ſervants and free merchants, but every other European under the company's protection, as well as all Armenians and Portugueze for carrying on any trade directly or indirectly beyond or without the limits of the ſaid provinces of Bengal, Bahar and Oriſſa. And it was therein ordered, that

" that if any of the perſons deſcribed ſhould attempt to tranſport any merchandize, beyond theſe provinces, all ſuch merchandize ſhould be ſeized and confiſcated, and the gomaſtahs having charge of ſuch contraband trade, ſhould be puniſhed with the utmoſt ſeverity. It being intended by the governor and council, as was alledged, that none but the natives of the country, muſſulmen and Hindoos ſhould enjoy the privilege of that trade.

The injuſtice and abſurdity of ſuch an order in a mercantile community are too manifeſt, to attempt to explain it, this would be an inſult offered to every man of underſtanding; but among the ruinous effects of this order, one was the prevention of extending the company's ſales of Britiſh woollens and other ſtaple commodities of this kingdom, and another, adding to the diſcouragement of the inland importation of bullion, by leſſening all mercantile connections with the merchants of the interior parts of Hindoſtan. From whence the governor and council could derive theſe powers of confiſcation and puniſhment, or by what authority they could deprive of their natural rights, the Armenians and Porgugueze eſtabliſhed in Bengal, who as well as their forefathers, were natives of that country, or with what view they wanted to prevent all trade in the dominions bordering upon Bengal, notwithſtanding the princes of ſuch adjacent countries permitted, encouraged, and according to the cuſtom of the empire, could not prevent ſuch trade we cannot account for, unleſs from private ſelfiſh notions, as the very gentlemen who made this inſtructive order, continued their own agents in the intended diſtricts.

It was in former times cuſtomary for merchants from all the inland parts of Aſia, and even from Tartary, to reſort to Bengal with money or bills, to purchaſe the commodities of theſe provinces. They uſed to go thither annually in large parties of many thouſands together, with droves of oxen for the tranſport of goods, from different parts of Indoſtan; by which the inland importation of bullion into Bengal always far exceeded the whole importation by ſea from Europe and the gulphs of Perſia and Arabia. Thus, by the bad practices of the company's agents in the interior parts, and by theſe proceedings of the governor and council of Calcutta, all thoſe foreign merchants have been deterred from approaching the Bengal provinces; and things are come to ſuch a paſs, that the whole of that advantageous trade is now turned into other channels, and probably loſt to thoſe countries for ever. It is evident, that all theſe orders reſpecting the inland trade of Bengal, have either from the ſtate of parties, or from ignorance been generally deſtructive of the welfare of theſe countries, and the real intereſt of the company.

Whatever may be the opinion of miſinformed Eaſt India ſtock holders reſpecting the trade in ſalt, the abuſe only has been deſtructive and criminal; for the fair and open practice of it muſt ever contribute to the welfare of the country. The directors in their letters to Bengal, dated the 8th and 19th February 1764 and 1766, abſolutely prohibited the trade in ſalt to all Europeans whatſoever, reſiding under their protection, though they ſhould trade therein with paying the very utmoſt duties, and entirely upon a footing with the natives.

tives. They likewiſe at the ſame time prohibited trade in all other articles that are not for export and import.

The diſtricts belonging to Bengal which produce ſalt, are only ſuch places as are waſhed by the influx of the tide from the ſea, for about ſixty miles of the rivers from the bottom of the bay, where it is made by boiling an artificial brine filtrated, though prepared earth, by a proceſs very different from what is practiſed in Europe, or in the other parts of India. The lands ſo waſhed are thoſe to the ſouth of Calcutta, and acroſs the bay from Chittigong to Ballaſore: theſe diſtricts were the former grants from the nabobs of Bengal to the company. Moſt of them produce nothing but ſalt, from which the whole of their revenue ariſes; but from the fluctuating tenor of orders iſſued at Calcutta relative to this trade, none of the natives would venture to make ſalt, unleſs privately concerned or protected by ſome gentlemen of power and influence in the ſervice of the company.

In conſequence of repeated orders received from the court of Eaſt India directors, the governor and council of Calcutta in February 1764, iſſued a proclamation, encouraging the natives to make ſalt; and upon the faith of this order, many of them engaged in the buſineſs, particularly in the woods; where it is made on low grounds overflowed upon the riſing of the Ganges, after the periodical rains. In the mean time the head banyan of the governor, and the banyans of ſome of the other principal gentlemen, who had formed a ſociety, and became large purchaſers of the committee's ſalt, although the ſame was expreſsly contrary to the

fourth

fourth regulation of the committee, of the 3d of September 1766) reprefented to the committee, that as the new ſalt was permitted to be brought to market, before their own was ſold off, they ſhould be ruined by their bargain with the committee. In conſeqnence of this repreſentation on the 12th of Auguſt 1767, there was another proclamation iſſued, forbidding the removal of any new made ſalt from the ground where it was produced. This was a moſt effectual method of preventing the ſale of the new made ſalt. The ſalt makers called Molunguees, came up to Calcutta in a body to petition for liberty to remove their ſalt before the ſwelling of the river; above two hundred of them at that very time ſurrounded the governor's palanqueen, for that purpoſe, on the high road, and falling proſtrate on their faces before him. They were referred to the dewan, a head banyan, though the very man againſt whom they complained; and before they could obtain an order, their ſalt was waſhed away. Such is the power of a governor's dewan upon ſuch occaſions, that at this juncture the agent of the rajah of Jaſſore, who had come up with the ſalt makers, was taken up in Calcutta, by the governor's dewan, and ſent priſoner into his own province, under a guard of ſoldiers, where they kept him, till the dewan's buſineſs was accompliſhed.

The wiſeſt meaſure the company could purſue, would have been to encourage without reſtriction Europeans and others of all denominations, to engage in the buſineſs of ſalt making, upon engaging to pay the eſtabliſhed duties. It would improve conſiderably the ſalt revenues, and lower the price

of this neceſſary of life. Indeed it is amazing, that the directors of a company, that owes its very exiſtence to trade, ſhould in any ſituation think of prohibiting the free exerciſe of it, according to eſtabliſhed cuſtom in a commercial country like Bengal; and particularly when even the proſperity of their conſtituents affairs, muſt depend on ſuch freedom. Every prohibition of one ſet of men, in favour of another, or the allowing a free trade, in ſome articles, and laying partial reſtrictions on others, muſt tend to the eſtabliſhment of miſchievous monopolies; but when theſe prohibitions are iſſued out in a diſtant country, by deſpotic rulers, and inforced on ſubjects reduced to thraldom; this impolitic conduct cannot fail of encouraging colluſions from partial views. Theſe proceedings in the caſes before us, are particularly diſgraceful; for before the company made themſelves ſovereigns there, the moſt tyrannical of the black nabobs would not have prohibited even any European in Bengal from trading in any particular article, ſo long as he paid the full duties, and conformed to the cuſtoms of the land. It is likewiſe contrary to the ſentiments and orders of the former courts of directors, who allowed all trade in India, on payment of the duties, and only aimed at the prevention of the abuſes of their permit, which in fact was all that they had a right to interfere with.

As to the other late prohibition of their ſervants to trade in any articles, but what are for export and import, it is a nice diſtinction, which modern directors alone can explain; for there is not an article of trade in Bengal, but what is either an import or an export; even the article of ſalt continually imported

imported in large quantities from the coaſt of Coromandel and from Perſia.

The trade of individuals in India muſt ever be to the company's ſpecial advantage, and cannot affect their excluſive trade to and from Europe. Among the variety of iniquitous abuſes practiſed in Bengal and the adjacent provinces, to the injury of the individuals, and great detriment of trade in general, we may properly rank thoſe of the ſpurious coinages, which have been made of late years both in the gold and ſilver pieces, expreſsly contrary to law, and apparently for fraudulent purpoſes.

The Engliſh Eaſt India company are authorized by charter and law to coin the money of the countries of India in which they have their principal ſettlements, with the permiſſion however of the governing princes of thoſe countries, and provided that ſuch coinages be made equal in weight and fineneſs to the ſtandard of the reſpective ſtates.

There are in different parts of India, divers kinds of gold and ſilver money, which only paſs in general currency by their reſpective intrinſic value. The ſtandard coinages of India are called ſiccas, and whether ſilver rupees or gold ones, called mohurs, all are eſtimated according to their intrinſic goodneſs, in proportion to their comparative value of gold with ſilver. The gold mohurs which were iſſued at Calcutta in the year 1765, under the auſpices of lord Clive, and his ſelect committee, were by their order made to paſs in value at fourteen ſiccas, or about ſixteen current rupees and one quarter; but their circulation at that rate could never be made general; ſo that they occaſioned

fioned great inconveniencies, and of courſe frequent heavy loſſes. The comparative value of gold by ſilver, above the eſtabliſhed medium, in theſe gold mohurs of the Calcutta mint, was ſaid to have been originally raiſed only ſix per cent. and two per cent. more was added for coinage charges.

The iſſuing of theſe gold mohurs proved the ſource of great evils, and was equally injurious to the company and the public. This over rating of the value of gold ſoon contributed ſo effectually to the draining of theſe provinces of ſilver, that the directors were in February 1768, informed from the governor and council of Calcutta, that it was then difficult to procure ſilver at that preſidency, in exchange even for an hundred gold mohurs, and it was earneſtly recommended to them to conſider of ſome other means of ſupplying China with ſilver, as there was none to be had in Bengal.

Gold mohurs at the ſame time, for want of ſilver rupees, were by unavoidable neceſſity ſent from Bengal to Madraſs, to anſwer the moſt preſſing exigencies of that ſettlement, though it was evident that a very heavy loſs would attend ſuch remittances; and by the ſame advices the directors were farther informed, that the loſs at Madraſs on ſuch remittances of the gold mohurs from Bengal had been thirteen per cent. The governor and council of Calcutta likewiſe acknowledged in their advices to the directors, that they had been greatly diſappointed in their views of eſtabliſhing a gold currency, as with all their influence it would not paſs in any of the provinces, "ſo wedded were the natives to the particular ſpecie they had been accuſtomed to." They might have ſaid with more

truth

truth, that the people were wiſe enough not to ſuffer themſelves to be cheated in ſo groſs a manner. A great trade was afterwards carried on in Calcutta, in diſcounting gold mohurs at eleven per cent. the banyans of ſome Engliſh gentlemen high in office did this buſineſs; none but them reaped the advantage of this money, which had no currency except within the boundaries of Calcutta; ſo that thoſe who had payments to make beyond thoſe boundaries, were under a neceſſity to get it exchanged at ſo great a loſs diſcount. To ſuch an extraordinary degree was this ſpurious gold coinage diſgraced at laſt, even in Calcutta, that there was once a quantity of them ſold at public auction, by the authority of the mayor's court, which produced only ten current rupees, and one quarter a mohur; which admitting the proprietor had originally received them at ſixteen and one quarter current rupees each, made no leſs a difference than thirty eight per cent loſs. The rupees as ſtandard weight and fineneſs called ſiccas, are eight per cent better than the areats which the Engliſh, European, and black troops are obliged to receive for their pay. The worſt ſpecies of rupees called viziery, from one of the Nabobs who called himſelf vizier of the empire, was a ſpurious coin iſſued in times of diſtreſs, for the payment of his troops. This baſe coinage has been introduced in different diſtricts ſince the ſubverſion of the empire. The ſubſtitutes and dependents of the Engliſh company have authoriſed even their banyans to coin vizeries at the mint of Banaras and Illahabad, in contempt of the grand mogul's prerogative, for robbing the poor ſoldiers, by paying them with this baſe money;

ney; they have even carried their injuſtice and effrontery ſo far as to pay the penſion of that nominal ſovereign with this adulterated coin; and this monarch who ſtiles himſelf king of the world, has been reduced to brook with this injury, ſo degrading to his rights.

Thus the ſupreme executive power of this kingdom has been diſregarded by theſe unlawful coinages, ſo much below the ſtandard of the empire; and to obtrude even government payments with this diſcredited money, as fraudulent valuations, are crimes of the blackeſt dye, if not actually high treaſon, though it cannot be tried by law in India.

Upon the whole, the monopolies and other pernicious regulations enforced in Bengal, particularly by lord Clive and his committee are haſtening on that deſtruction of the manufactories, and of all ſpirit of induſtry, which began by depoſing nabobs, and uſurping the power of theſe ſubſtituted in their place. They have been for ſeveral years paſt decreaſing in quality and advancing in price, while many manufacturers of all denominations have, by unparalelled oppreſſions, been driven from their callings and their country. The former manufactures in Bengal, were incomparably finer, than any thing now produced. There was a ſort of muſlin called alroan, which was manufactured ſolely for the uſe of the emperor's ſeraglio, a piece of which ſold for 400 rupees at [illegible] ſterling; it is ſaid to have weighed only five ſicca rupees, and if ſpread upon wet graſs to have been ſcarcely viſible.

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All merchants from the interior parts of Aſia, were effectually prevented by theſe iniquitous practices, from having any mercantile intercourſe with Bengal, whilſt the natives in general are in fact deprived of all trade within thoſe provinces, it being wholly monopolized by a few company's ſervants and their dependents In ſuch a ſituation no commercial country can flouriſh. Such has been the decreaſe of the company's credit, that the Benga bonds have been diſcounted in Calcutta at upwards of fourteen per cent. As long as the original ſprings of commerce are thus obſtructed, and the cruel oppreſſion of the induſtrious part of the natives continues, there is no poſſibility of replacing in its proper channel the great influence of wealth which uſed ſtream in from the commerce of Aſia. It is manifeſt, that the company and their ſubſtitutes have, by a ſubverſion of the rights of mankind, exerciſed with impunity every ſpecies of violence and injuſtice. The trade of the other European nations with the Bengal provinces was another inlet of wealth, and while the company are continually draining off from thence, immenſe ſums annually for China, Madraſs, Bombay and other places, the conſequences cannot prove other than ruin and diſtreſs, to theſe ineſtimable territories.

Some have ventured to affirm, that the inhabitants of the province of Bengal, have ſuch a veneration for the river Ganges, as to prevail on them to endure theſe multiplied hardſhips, rather than leave the country. But their ſuperſtitious rites of Birmha the law giver of the Gentoos, are celebrated with equal zeal to the northward of Bahar.

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The poſſeſſion of theſe provinces with all their natural reſources, will ſoon become burdenſome to the company and the nation, if ſo many abuſes of a lawleſs aligarchy are not ſoon reformed. The majority of the directors for ſeveral years paſt have ſhewn themſelves unqualified for their ſtations; others who were able to trace out the evils, have proved themſelves unworthy of their truſt, by neglecting to act honourably from ſuch knowledge. It is to be hoped, that government will take the preſervation and improvement of theſe Aſiatic dominions into their moſt ſerious conſideration, while there is yet time for the prevention of more dreadful evils.

The character of Mr. Francis Sykes, the junior member of lord Clive's ſecret committee, has been ſufficiently exploded before the grand inqueſt of the nation, to require a further ecclariſſement on his principles and his conduct. He was appointed after the company were become ſovereigns of Bengal, by the noble preſident and his privy council, their reſident at the Durbar or the nabob's court, at the capital of Murſhedabad. The following letters of this gentleman, entruſted, on account of his tried diſintereſtedneſs and abilities, with a controuling power over the court and officers, of the nominal nabob Najam al Dowlah, will throw a light on the docility of his complexion, and the ſyſtem of his employers.

Copy of a letter from Francis Sykes, eſquire, reſident at the Durbar, to the ſecret committee at Calcutta. Dated the 24th July 1765.

"To

To William Brightwell Sumner, eſquire, &c.
" gentlemen of the ſelect committee.

" Gentlemen,

" By the great ſudden fall of rain, and the rapidity of the river, I have been prevented from arriving here till yeſterday: I ſhall directly proceed on my buſineſs with all poſſible diſpatch, and you may depend upon it, that nothing ſhall be wanting on my part to finiſh the affairs which I am commiſſioned on, as well as any others which may fall to my management during my ſtay here, to the entire ſatisfaction of the committee.

" I have had the pleaſure to receive ſeveral letters from lord Clive ſince I left Calcutta, wherein his lordſhip repreſents to me the inconveniences and difficulties the preſent miniſters find in carrying on the affairs of the government; owing to the Nabob's ignorance, and his being totally unacquainted with any kind of buſineſs whatever; and to obviate and effectually remove an evil of ſo dangerous a tendency, his lordſhip recommends to me to endeavour to get the Nabob to throw the management of affairs entirely into the hands of the miniſters now in power; to make over all the revenues ariſing from the ſubahſhip, in order to enable us to pay the expences of the army, diſcharge the demands for reſtitution, army, &c. and for an annual ſtipend to the king, with other contingent expences, in conſideration of our paying him a ſum of about fifty lacks per annum, for his horſe, ſeapoys, begum, brother's zenana, houſehold charges, and every other expence which may attend himſelf, provided this affair be ſanctified

by a ſunnud from the king. This undoubtedly will be a grand point; and to obtain it, I ſhall certainly exert my endeavours, as I eſteem it to be equally for the Nabob's eaſe and our own intereſt; for it is certain the ſhare of influence we enjoy in theſe provinces, however great in appearance, does not carry with it thoſe real advantages and weighty effects which are neceſſary, not to leave that power in danger of being diſputed, and failing us at a time when the company is in moſt want of it; beſides it will be attended with many further good conſequences, particularly that of effectually putting a ſtop to that diſſipation of revenues which hath reduced the Nabob, the company, and the country, ſo frequently to a diſtreſſed condition.

" I am getting an account of the Nabob's immediate expences, in order to be able the better to judge what ſtipend will be moſt ſuitable to his rank and dignity, and our honour and credit.

" Mr. Sumner having informed me, that there was a deficiency in the money paid by the Nabob into our treaſury, of about rupees 40,562 2 annas, I therefore acquaint you, that an order was ſent the day before yeſterday for the payment of it, which I hope by this time is come ſafe to hand.

" I am, with the greateſt reſpect,
" Gentlemen,
" Your moſt obedient, humble ſervant,

* " Moradbaug, 24th July, 1765. (Signed) Francis Sykes.

* One of the Nabob's gardens near Muſhedabad.

Copy

Copy of a letter from Francis Sykes, Eſq; reſident at the Durbar, to the ſecret committee at Calcutta. Dated the 28th July 1765.

" To William Brightwell Sumner, Eſquire, &c. Gentlemen of the ſelect committee.

" Gentlemen,

" I have had the pleaſure to receive your favour as late as only four days ago, incloſing the plan for carrying on the trade of ſalt, beetle-nut and tobacco, accompanied by ſeveral queſtions which required to be anſwered by each member of the ſelect committee ſeverally, in order to collect their ſentiments, to enable you to proceed agreeably thereto.

Having replied to each query in a ſeparate paper, leaves me very little to ſay here on the ſubject. I have included the colonels and lieutenant-colonels in the plan, more from a deſire of removing every ſpark of envy, and ſhewing our diſintereſtedneſs in money matters, which certainly ought to be conſidered in a plan ſo extenſive as this, more than from any claim of real right; for as the company's covenanted ſervants only are intitled to duſtucks, they certainly can be the only perſons intitled to a ſhare in this trade; but I look upon this as ſo great an object, that we can, without impropriety, make a voluntary tender to theſe gentlemen, who are excluded from receiving preſents, as well as the company's covenanted ſervants.

" As it is uncertain what number of majors we may have upon this eſtabliſhment, I think, for that

that reaſon, it is not proper to include them, and likewiſe as they may be too numerous a body.

" I now incloſe you the nabob's perwanahs, &c. amounting to one hundred and ſix, which will enable you immediately to enter upon the contracts. I have been very particular in collecting the number of zemindars whoſe countries produce any ſalt, and think thoſe I have ſent you will be ſufficient for the ſalt-works dependent on the Fowzdar of Hoogly, as well as for thoſe which are to be under the management of the gentlemen of Dacca and Chittigong. You will find that the zemindars are entirely put under our authority, and are to comply with ſuch regulations as you ſhall think proper to eſtabliſh.

" I can with pleaſure inform you, that I have completed the buſineſs which was ſo earneſtly recommended to me by lord Clive. The nabob, after fully explaining to him the many advantages that would ariſe to the public, and how much he would be embarraſſed from his little knowledge in affairs of ſo much conſequence, has, after mature conſideration, agreed to accept of a ſtipend of ficca rupees, 5,386,161 per annum; and will, in conſequence of ſuch agreement, throw all the affairs of the government into the hands of Mahomed Raza Cawn, Doolubram, and Juggut Seat, the miniſters appointed by us; and make over the management and revenue of the ſubahdary for the payment of the forces, reſtitution, and other purpoſes mentioned in lord Clive's letter of the 11th inſtant, provided the ſame be duly authorized and confirmed by the king. He was indeed ſo fully perſuaded of the expediency of the meaſures propoſed, that he would have accepted of fifty lacks; but

but on perceiving how closely he was tied up relative to the allowance made him for his * Asswary, Emaumbarry expences, Zenana, and other articles, I thought the credit of the committee required that his allowance should be enlarged; particularly when I considered what a glorious opportunity he gives us of establishing a new system of government, which, if properly adopted, regulated, and pursued with steadiness and firmness, bids fairest for settling that tranquillity in the three provinces which has been so long wanting, and confessed so essential for the good of the country, the nabob's ease, and the prosperity of the company. This prospect, I own, appears to me to be of no less importance to our honourable employers, than that of establishing them in this kingdom beyond the attempts of any enemy whatever; and securing such real and solid advantages as, from our influence, we have a right to expect, and which must in a short time render the company the greatest and most potent commercial body in the world. But an essential preliminary towards establishing this plan will be, to secure the dewannee, which, though formerly a very distinct office, is now become so dependent on the subahdary, that they cannot with any propriety be in two different interests. This can be very easily secured by lord Clive; and I make no doubt but it will, on a representation from the committee to his lordship on the subject. In the course of regulating this business with the nabob, I have had the greatest at-

* The retinue maintained for parade; the expences incurred at his mosques in religious matters, and the charges of his seraglio.

tention

tention to every part of his family, to prevent their receiving any ill treatment, or bad uſage from him; their allowance I have ſettled as follows; viz.

	Rupees per month.
To Seyf al Dowlah - - -	7000
Mobareck al Dowlah - -	5000
Meran's ſon - -	5000
The Begum and her family -	6000

"Theſe ſums, though much more than what has been hitherto expended on their account, yet it is neither for our honour or credit, to deprive them of a ſupport in life ſuitable to their rank and dignity. I have, for the better ſecuring theſe ſums to them, got Mahomed Reza Khawn, Doolubram, and Juggut Seat, to take upon them the charge of this money, to pay it monthly, or as ſhall be moſt agreeable to them to receive it. Theſe three perſons are likewiſe to have the payment of all the Nabob's ſeapoys, horſe, ſervants, &c. which he very readily and with pleaſure conſented to.

"Nothing now remains to finiſh this grand point entirely, but the obtaining a ſunnud from the king, and the executing the obligation which is neceſſary to paſs between the company and the Nabob; but I ſhall defer this, until I have your's as well as his lordſhip's authority for ſo doing.

"Since my arrival, I have been extremely watchful over the actions of Mahomed Reza Khawn, Doolubram, and Juggut Seat, that I might be able to form ſome judgment how the regulations which were lately made for the adminiſtration of the

the government were executed; and can with much ſatisfaction inform you, that I think every one acts with the greateſt aſſiduity in his own office, without aiming at any encroachment on the partition of authority we judged neceſſary for the ſecurity of the preſent eſtabliſhment. Whatever attempts might have been made on the balance of power by Doolubram, I am convinced he is very ſenſible of his error, and will give no cauſe for any further complaints. There is at preſent the greateſt harmony and cordiality ſubſiſting between the Nabob and his miniſters, as well as between the miniſters themſelves, that the beſt of conſequences is to be expected from it, and we may hope a continuance of it, by a little attention only in the gentleman who reſides at the Durbar. The Nabob is extremely polite, and very tractable. I cannot conclude this ſubject without mentioning to you, gentlemen, the very extraordinary aſſiduity and care of Mahomed Reza Khawn for the good of the company and the country; and from his indefatigableneſs, joined with a principle of honour and integrity, we may expect affairs ſoon reduced into good form and order, a thing ſo much to be coveted.

"In three or four days time I hope to be able to ſend you about two lacks of rupees, but expect little or nothing more: but I muſt requeſt that a tender of this money may be made the merchants as ſoon as the company is in caſh, and their affairs will admit of its return, having given my word that this circumſtance will be complied with; as I ſhould not otherwiſe have been able to obtain it, unleſs

unleſs I had made uſe of force, a method which ought to be avoided.

"I am, with the greateſt reſpect,
Gentlemen,
Your moſt obedient, humble ſervant,

Moradbaug, the 28th July, 1765. (Signed) Francis Sykes."

Copy of a letter from Francis Sykes, Eſquire, reſident at the Durbar, to the ſecret committee at Calcutta. Dated the 31ſt October 1765.

"To the right honourable lord Clive, preſident and governor, and the gentlemen of the ſelect committee.

"My lords and gentlemen,

"Incloſed I ſend you a ſtatement of the Bahar revenues, as fixed for this year; with a particular account of ſuch parts as are aſſigned over for the payment of the jagheers which have been granted by royal authority, and whoſe names I alſo particularize.

"After a ſcrutiny into ſeveral years accounts, I find very little has been really brought to the credit of the Nizamut, even in the moſt peaceable times; but in Meer Jaffier's it has been a very heavy expence to him; little or nothing, indeed, being collected even to ſupport a part of the charges attending it. By the beſt accounts that I can learn, we ſhall hardly come up to the preſent ſtatement, though I thought it would be better not to rate it lower this year, and the next we might

might with more propriety judge of its real value. The expence in Ramnarain's, as well as in the preſent nabob Itraam al Dowlah's time, has been charged at 2,153,934—2—10, as you will obſerve by the account I now incloſe you. I have examined very narrowly into every article, and have with the aſſiſtance of Mahomed Reza Khawn, reduced the expence to rupees 750,920, though ſtill great and heavy; yet the miniſters declare to me, that there is no ſuperfluous expence in that ſum; that it will require the full number of people mentioned to collect the revenues properly, and pay the different contingent expences which muſt neceſſarily happen in ſo extenſive a country.

"Mahomed Reza Khawn, Doolubram, &c. would, with your conſent, adopt the following plan. Nabob Itraam al Dowlah to return to his ſtation: Dirgenarain to remain alſo; and two overſeers on the part of the company, and one on that of the miniſters of the government, to remain, not only as checks on their actions, but to enable them to proceed in the collections with the greateſt alacrity. Had not our connections with the brothers of the above-mentioned perſons made it neceſſary to give them our countenance, and a proper influence in the country, I ſhould be entirely for having a new claſs of people of leſs conſequence, more active, and their expences conſiderably leſs, to manage the affairs of that province; and who would be more inclinable to obey any orders they might receive from hence than they have lately ſhewed. Whatever arrangements you may think proper to make, the ſooner it is concluded on the better; as every thing is at an en-

tire ſtop, nor can the miniſters procure any ſatisfactory anſwer, ſo as to inform themſelves of the progreſs that has been made in the rents.

"In the account of the jagueers and charity-lands, which I now forward to your lordſhip, &c. amounting to 2,018,714—10—0, there will be (in conſequence of our late agreement) that which the nabob had, amounting to 902,960--8--15, to be brought to the company's credit, alſo the ſum of 290,707--14--0 which has been kept up under the head of jagueers, and has been an impoſition, as no perſon can claim it, or any part thereof, either by an authority of royal ſunnuds, or as a gift of the nabob's; ſo that it muſt be a fraud in thoſe who had the management of affairs. The ſum allowed for charity is bulky; and I make no doubt, if it was in my power to enquire into that article, we would find the greateſt part miſapplied.

"I have been greatly retarded in ſending you the incloſed accounts by the many impoſitions the Patna Mutſeddees, Congoes, &c. wanted to have continued and confirmed; not only in the value of the province and in the account of expences, but in the amount of each perſon's jagueer; many of whom had charged more than their ſunnuds intitled them to receive, in expectations that no inquiry would be made into their right. In ſhort, an entire reformation wants to be made, ſooner or later, which if you ſhould not have done now, I would recommend its taking place in April next; when the Poonea is made, and the value of each pergunnah is fixed, or as ſoon as you think it will be moſt conſiſtent with the plan of government you are deſirous of forming.

"A re-

" A regular and proper mode once fixed on, and men of activity, ſteadineſs, and integrity employed in the management of the collections, who will pay a proper attention to the frontier provinces, I am confident, that the province of Bahar will then yield very little ſhort of one crore of rupees. The jagueers and charity-lands ſtand at the old rents, or at what they paid many years ago. They will certainly now produce double the amount, and in point of right, the ſurplus, whatever it may be, exceeding the amount which the ſunnuds intitle the proprietors to, ought to be brought to the credit of the company Before I have done with this ſubject it will be neceſſary to mention, that Shetabroy, as king's dewan, has the department of the Khalſah * ; wherein not only revenues, but duties ariſing to the government yearly, the amount not inconſiderable, ought to be added to this account, I have applied not only to Itraam al Dowlah, but to the Patna Mutſeddees, all of whom decline giving me any account of the ſame, referring me to Shetabroy for them. As this gentleman is now in Calcutta, you will be beſt able to adjuſt this matter with him.

" The duties ariſing from the Punchuttrah office at Murſhedabad, only a few years ago, amounted to rupees 384,000. I find there is now exiſting ſcarcely any thing more than the name. I have accordingly got Mahomed Reza Khawn, &c. to appoint a perſon of integrity and aſſiduity to inſpect into the Daroga's proceedings, and keep an exact account of the duties ariſing to the government, as has been for many years eſtabliſhed. The like

* Crown lands.

like regulations I have desired might take place in the tankfall *; where abuses appear equally great.

"I find it will be absolutely necessary some regulations should be fixed on for the government of the chokeys all over the country, for which purpose I have got Mahomed Reza Khawn to write to the fowzdars and zemindars of the different provinces, for an exact account of all the chokeys now kept up, that a proper arrangement may be made, and a few considerable ones established in the most convenient parts of the country, which will answer the purpose much more effectually than the superfluous number that do now exist, which have in some degree only served to subvert the true intent for which they were ordered, and throwing a number of difficulties in the way of trade in general.

"Fraud and villainy appears to have been carried to so great a height in every department, that I am no longer surprized that the Nabobs of late have been so much distressed in their government. A total change, by degrees, must be made; and it can only be by degrees brought about, without great disturbance and murmuring all over the country. I am exerting my utmost endeavours for that purpose; but have to struggle with every difficulty that can be thrown in my way by ministers, mutseddees, congoes, &c. and their dependents. Yet with a proper support from you, I make not the least doubt, in time, but I shall accomplish your most sanguine expectations.

"Representations of late have been made to me by the zemindars of different villages, that the

* The mint.

king

king is fixing dawks* from Illahabad to this place and Calcutta; that it will be a very great burthen to the inhabitants in many parts of the country, if they are under a neceſſity of ſupporting them with the uſual neceſſaries, having already both the company's and the Nabob's dawks to provide for, and requeſt they may be relieved from ſo heavy a grievance.

"Incloſed I ſend you a letter which I have received from captain M'Pherſon, repreſenting the hardſhip he has laboured under ſince his being ordered on the Moradbaug eſtabliſhment, in being deprived the receiving of any batta, notwithſtanding a detachment at Coſſimbazar has been allowed it. I requeſt your lordſhip, &c. will take his caſe into conſideration: and ſhould it not be inconſiſtent with the rules and regulations then eſtabliſhed, I deſire you will order him to receive at leaſt half batta, agreeably to what was allowed the Coſſimbazar detachment, as an hundred and twenty rupees has been the only ſum he has had to live on ſince his reſidence there.

"I am, with the greateſt reſpect,
"My lord and gentlemen,
"Yout moſt obedient, humble ſervant,

† Mootejil, 31ſt October, 1765. (Signed) Francis Sykes."

* The dawhs, or poſtmen, when employed by the king, were ſupported by the countries through which they paſſed.

† A garden of the Nabob's, near the city of Murſhedabad.

Copy

Copy of a letter from Francis Sykes, eſquire, reſident at the Durbar, to the ſelect committee at Calcutta. Dated the 17th Nov. 1765.

" To the right honourable lord Clive, preſident " and governor, and the gentlemen of the ſe- " lect committee.

" My lord and gentlemen,

" Your lordſhip's &c. favours of the 5th and 7th inſtant I have received.

" Incloſed I ſend you an account of the revenues, as concluded on with the fowzdars, zemindars, &c. for the preſent year 1765, amounting to 16,029,016--10--2 rupees, charges included; with an account of what has been already collected, how it has been diſburſed to the laſt of Rubby al ſany, or the 16th October, in order that you may have a true and exact ſtate of affairs of this province to that time: and ſhall from henceforward ſend you a monthly treaſury account, that you may be acquainted regularly with the ſtate of the treaſury here.

" On my arrival here, I found that the revenues ariſing from the different provinces and purgunnahs which compoſe Bengal had been rated, though not finally concluded with the different officers of the government. In examining into this buſineſs, and by comparing the value of the different diſtricts of the country with what they were rated at in Allaverdy Khawn's time, Serajah al Dowlah's, Meer Jaffier's, &c. I found many fell greatly ſhort of what they had produced, taking the medium of ſeveral years. I therefore deſired that this im-

portant

portant matter might be reconſidered; and after a few days attention to this particular, I have the ſatisfaction to incloſe you a ſtatement, which, I make no doubt, will meet with your approbation. In this agreement I have aimed at a certain equitable and juſt valuation between the proprietor and the tenant, without ſubjecting ourſelves to any juſt imputation of ſeverity: and though I do not find that Bengal alone ever produced to the Nabob the amount as appears by the neat balance, except in the time of Coſſim Ally Khawn, yet I am confident, with good management, we may reaſonably expect an increaſe, without the leaſt oppreſſion to the farmers or tenants. Some degree of rigour may be neceſſary this year, to rouſe the zemindars and collectors from that lethargy which they have been in, and convince them we are determined to put a ſtop to the ſcandalous practices ſo frequently committed all over India, and that the welfare of the Nabob and our employers is our object, by receiving the juſt revenues due to the government.

" I ſhall exert myſelf to the utmoſt of my power, to have the full amount of ſicca rupees 15,004,887--2--5 regularly and properly collected. Fifty lacks of which I flatter myſelf I ſhall have in the treaſury by the 11th of February, which includes the December payments; as, by an eſtabliſhed cuſtom, a month's credit is always given. Should it ſo happen that I am diſappointed in my expectations, I requeſt your lordſhip, &c. will not impute it to any neglect, or fault on my part, but to the conſequence of a number of circumſtances entirely independent of me, which a buſineſs of this nature is ever liable to. I moſt heartily

tily wish some method could be taken to prevent the gentlemen, civil as well as military, from sending for the different officers * of the government on every frivolous pretence, by which the collections are greatly impeded: and owing to the distance such circumstances happen from me, I find it a most difficult matter to be a proper judge, whether they are acting in virtue of their station, or in open violence to your orders.

"The expences of mohurrees, pikes, servants, burkandazes, roads, charity, with other contingent articles attending the collections, amounting to rupees 1,024,129--7--7, are large and enormous, notwithstanding I have retrenched them above one half. Yet I cannot with any propriety attempt to reduce them lower this year, particularly as the ministers declare they are not only reasonable, but indispensably necessary. However, as I get a greater insight into the nature of these charges, and the collections in general, I shall be better able to judge what are superfluous, and what not so: and every regulation and plan of oeconomy,

* This alludes to a practice very common, of English gentlemen, when travelling up the country, sending to the Zemindars for provisions and bearers for their palanqueens, &c. the amount of which the Zemindar inserted among the charges of the collection, or else levied it upon the ryots, or farmers: in ancient times the emperor's officers were always so complimented when travelling, by the Zemindars, on the road. Since the English company became the sovereigns, their servants, civil and military, have been looked on in the same light, and being very numerous, the frequency of such applications was become troublesome and oppressive.

my, in order to reduce this article, ſhall always eagerly be embraced and forwarded to your lordſhip, &c. as expeditiouſly as poſſible.

Your lordſhip, &c. will obſerve in the account of the revenues a number of purgunnahs, which have no charge annexed them. This is owing to the zemindars letting them on a leaſe for three or four years; and the expences which are allowed under the head of Nancar, &c. by agreement, is given up to the zemindar, and the tenant is to have for his profits, whatever he can collect above the ſum ſtipulated to be paid to government. By this means it will always be difficult to obtain the true value of the lands, and it is an evil which muſt be rectified.

I have ſupplied the factories of Coſſimbezar and Decca, with caſh for the uſe of their inveſtments, agreeable to your lordſhip's orders; the former with three lacks of ſicca rupees, and the latter with one of arcots, and to-morrow morning ſhall ſend you down, under the care of a party of ſea-poys, ſix lacks.

I have had much difficulty in procuring an account of the receipts and diſburſements made this year, and delayed ſending you the account of the revenues, in expectation of forwarding you this at the ſame time; but though I have now drawn it out, I find ſo many articles neceſſary to be explained, and ſo many inaccuracies appearing, that I am ſtill obliged to poſtpone forwarding it, till it can be thrown into a form which will meet with your approbation.

Furroc-Barg, one of the nabob's garden houſes, being greatly out of repair, and one of the rooms

already fallen in, the miniſters would be glad of of your permiſſion, to lay out a ſmall ſum of money on that building, to prevent its becoming an entire ruin.

I am, with the greateſt reſpect,
My lord and gentlemen,
Your moſt humble ſervant.

Mootejil the 17
Nov. 1765. (Signed) F. Sykes."

Several Britiſh ſubjects, Armenians, &c. having ſought for redreſs of the injuries they had received during the preſidency of lord Clive, Mr. Vereſt and others, under the palladium of our laws: before we mention the grievances of ſome of theſe individuals, we ſhall give the reader an idea of the nature and defects of the conſtitution of the Eaſt India company.

If ariſtocracy is the worſt of all political tyrannies, and found by experience to be the moſt partial and the moſt oppreſſive, a trading company inveſted with an ariſtocratic power, is the moſt likely to abuſe it, as avarice, the ruling principle of a mercantile ſociety, prompts them to divers acts of injuſtice and oppreſſion, when unreſtrained by coercive laws.

The Dutch Eaſt India company, though ariſtocratic in its executive power, is the ſubject of a democratic trading ſtate, which has eſtabliſhed ſuch effectual checks on all entruſted operative powers in India, as ſerve fully to prevent both executive oppreſſion, and the rapine of individuals. The French Eaſt India company was ſtill more reſtrained in the executive powers granted by royal authority.

rity. No governors or chiefs of their factories could preſide over them, without the royal ſanction; and the exemplary puniſhments of ſeveral of them whoſe malverſations had reached the throne, have proved to the world, that in abſolute monarchies there is more national honour than in commercial ſtates.

The Engliſh Eaſt India company was originally intended to be merely a trading community, being firſt inſtituted by Queen Elizabeth's charter of the 30th of December 1600, expreſsly "for the honour of the nation, the increaſe of navigation, and the advancement of trade and merchandize within the Britiſh dominions; for the increaſe of the riches of the people, and the benefit of the commonwealth;" and indeed this company by its conſtitution is unqualified for ſovereign dominion. An extract of the report of his majeſty's advocate, attorney, and ſolicitor general, dated Auguſt 16, 1757, will ſhew theſe ſages of the law were unanimous in their opinion reſpectively to the claims of the company to their future acquiſitions in India: they delivered their opinion to Mr. Pitt, who was then ſecretary of ſtate, in the following terms,

"All ſuch places as may be newly conquered accrue to the ſovereign, and are veſted in his Majeſty by right of conqueſt. All moveables and plunder of every kind firſt taken and acquired from the enemy, either by land or ſea, are veſted in his majeſty, ſubject to his power of diſpoſing, by virtue of his known prerogative."

(Signed) G. Hay.
C. Pratt.
C. Yorke.

The

The company are by their inſtitution a democratic body, the ſupreme power even over the management of their commercial concerns, being placed at large in the hands of all proprietors who had five hundred pounds ſtock, lately raiſed to one thouſand pounds; and ſo entirely popular is the government of this commercial community, that nine proprietors qualified for voting at their general courts, can at any time require and procure the aſſembling of the whole body for ſpecified buſineſs; where a majority of the members are entitled to demand whatever information or inſpection they pleaſe; to regulate dividends to eſtabliſh bye laws and reſolutions, and to order their being carried into execution by their ſubſtitutes; the twenty four directors, who are annually choſen; provided ſuch regulations be conformable to the company's charter, and not repugnant to the laws of the kingdom.

Such is the conſtitution of this incorporated community, which is ſuitable to the nature and end of its eſtabliſhment, being the employment of the joint ſtock in commerce, to their own advantage, and at the ſame time to the benefit of the ſtate. The excluſive right of trade granted to them, was for the ſake of encouraging a new and important branch of commerce, that might prove beneficial to the kingdom, and which was not likely perhaps at that time, to be properly undertaken or proſecuted on any other conditions; and no other conſtitutional reaſon could be given to authorize the grant of ſuch excluſive rights by charters. While this incorporated body of merchants were proſecuting trade in purſuit of their own intereſt,

tereſt, they were likewiſe to be conſidered as acting in truſt for the public, under the inſpection, controul, and inſpection of government, as the commerce of India, like that which is carried on between Great Britain and every other country, is the commerce of the ſtate.

So long as the concerns of the company continued purely commercial, and while they were ſubject in their Aſiatic ſettlements to the controul of Indian powers, the authority delegated to them by their royal charter, for the regulation of the factories they were to eſtabliſh in ſuch remote countries, for the advancement of their trade, might be conſidered as ſafe and requiſite. As this trading community had no other views or expectations than of the profits ariſing from their commerce, there could be no pretence of government interfering in the management of their commercial affairs; though it muſt be confeſſed, the power which the company were authorized to exerciſe in India, was even ſoon after their firſt eſtabliſhment too frequently abuſed by the groſs acts of injuſtice and oppreſſion, which have been ſucceſſively continued, in open violation of the rights of mankind, down to the preſent times.

But the circumſtances of this company have within a few years paſt, become very different from what they were, or could be foreſeen either at the firſt grant, or on the renewal of their charters. By their forces in conjunction with thoſe of the king, immenſe territories have been acquired in India; and though of right they can only belong to the ſtate, yet they have been with-held by the company, or rather farmed to their rapacious

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and lawleſs monopolizers, together with the perſons and rights of their wretched inhabitants, for a ſtipulated annual conſideration. So that the company now poſſeſſes and exerciſe in thoſe territories, not only all their prior commercial privileges, but likewiſe all the powers of deſpotic ſovereignty, with equal ſway over their fellow European ſubjects, and the helpleſs ſubdued Aſiatics; there being no courts of juſtice in theſe countries, that are effectual for the due protection of either.

It is therefore a moſt intereſting object of national conſideration and inquiry; whether the protection and government of ſuch extenſive, populous and wealthy provinces, and the management and appropriation of a yearly revenue of ſeveral millions ſterling, can be intruſted with ſafety to the care of a fluctuating democratic community of traders, compoſed of natives and aliens of all countries and religions, without adequate checks of the Britiſh legiſlative? eſpecially as the very ſtock of this company with all the powers and rights annexed to it, may in effect be engroſſed by combining proprietors. It is not even impoſſible, that one man ſhould obtain the command of the company, by dint of wealth acquired in its ſervice; and by a dextrous management of ſplit ſtock, among temporary proprietors, influence them to vote in his favour whatever he pleaſes. Lord Clive was in fact become the demagogue of this mercantile ſociety, when he lately exerciſed in India a dictatorial power even over his conſtituents. A combination of foreigners, by engroſſing much ſtock, may perhaps influence ſuch meaſures as may even endanger the Aſiatic territorial poſſeſſions

ſions, and the India trade of this nation. At a critical juncture they might poſſibly be made inſtruments for diſturbing the peace of Europe, and thereby expoſe to hazard the future power and welfare of this kingdom.

In whatever light we conſider the India company, to whom theſe Aſiatic territories, and with them no inconſiderable partition of the national influence in Europe are entruſted, it is evident that ſuch poſſeſſions are of too much conſequence to be abandoned to twenty four directors, often ill qualified for the entire management of concerns of ſuch infinite importance; eſpecially as they are generally elected by the combinations and intrigues of a few monied men, actuated by theſe powerful ſprings of the human ſoul, ambition and avarice: and indeed the general prevalency of the houſe liſts of candidates at elections for directors, and of houſe queſtions, carried by the houſehold troops at moſt of the general courts, might ſerve to convince the public, that thoſe miniſters of the company, after they are ſo choſen, become in realtity their maſters; though perhaps on ſome occaſions they may act as the mere tools of ſuch individuals as helped to exalt them, and who in ſo doing had their intereſt in view.

When we conſider what the directors have at their diſpoſal in England and in India, in the civil military and maritime departments; the partiality ſhewn in the diſtribution of theſe lucrative employments, and the preference too often given to the unworthy, it is impoſſible that government above theſe little cabals and connections ſhould appear in the ſame deſpicable light to the Aſiatics and their

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own country, were they rulers of the national concerns in Indoſtan, as the India ſtock is limited, the number of proprietors qualified for voting is ſmall in proportion, beſides the requiſite property for the candidates to the directors is too inconſiderable, comparatively with the many advantages that may be reaped, and the gratifications that can be conferred, if we compute the great ſhare of India ſtock belonging to foreigners, we will be able to judge of the impolitical diſparity of the natives, the directors will preſerve their undue influence, over the voters, as the majority of the proprietors either reſide abroad or are not qualified for voting in the aſſembly of the company.

Yet great as the power of the directors is in Europe, there have been ſuch deſpotes in the ſervice of the company abroad, who not only have preſumed to interpret the orders of their employers, as might beſt ſerve their own purpoſes in ſuch monopolies as were grievous to the natives, injurious to trade and freedom, and greatly detrimental to the company; but have even peremptorily diſputed the moſt abſolute injunctions of their conſtituents, and abuſed the power injudiciouſly beſtowed on them by the moſt glaring perverſion of juſtice, and the moſt arbitrary and unconſtitutional application of military force at the ſame time. Such has been the art and the pecuniary influence of theſe oppreſſors, that no delinquents in India has been yet brought to exemplary juſtice in Europe; nor has any kind of redreſs been otherwiſe than repeatedly granted by directors, to ſuch unhappy people as had been wantonly perſecuted, cruelly impriſoned, exiled, and utterly ruined, not only with-

out proved guilt that deſerved puniſhment, or without trial of any kind, not ſo much even as the open accuſation of a miſdemeanor: while on the contrary, we have ſeen theſe little tyrants, intruded into the ſenate, and aſſociated in the direction ſoon after their arrival, uſing uncommon induſtry to ſtifle accuſations, or even to bear down by power the complaints of the injured. Theſe inſtances have re-traced in our days the piſconſular ravages, practiſed in the roman provinces, and the applications that were afterwards ineffectually made, either for juſtice or redreſs, to the temporary rulers of degenerate Rome; the ſeat of univerſal empire, during the laſt luxurious, corrupt and rapacious ſtages of that once glorious, but then ſinking commonwealth.

Thus this mercantile democracy, is from a corruption become in practice an odious oligarchy. A majority of the twenty-four directors can exerciſe ſuch deſpotic powers as operate without limit, both in Europe and Aſia; not only over the reſpectable body of the real proprietors, but likewiſe over the fortunes of all men who engage in the company's ſervice. And this power they exerciſe with the ſame abſoluteneſs over the people, the revenues, the internal trade and external commerce of every conſiderable part of India, whilſt they are poſſeſſed of the whole traffic of this kingdom with the weſtern quarter of the globe.

Since lord Clive aſſumed the dewannee, the projects of conqueſts ſeem to have ſo engroſſed the attention of the company's ſervants, that they ſeem to have been as regardleſs of the true commercial intereſts of the kingdom, as they have

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ſhewn themſelves inattentive to the welfare and proſperity of the natives: for notwithſtanding the great increaſe of there dominion, there has been ſcarce any in the ſales of the Britiſh woollens in Bengal. The Turkey trade in this branch is known to have greatly declined of late years, inſomuch, that the clothiers who manufacture white cloths, have principally depended on the exportation to India, and are quite at a ſtand when the India company fail in the quantity uſually expoſted by them. The trade in broad cloths from hence to India, is ſtrictly prohibited to all dependents on the Eaſt India company, from the general practice common to all monopolies, not to clog markets with commodities, in order to keep up their price. Yet, ſuch regulations might be made, and ſuch undertakings encouraged as would ſoon double the ſale of broad cloth and the other woollen manufactures of this kingdom in Bengal; and nothing could be more laudable than to find out a method to increaſe the conſumption of ſuch articles.

The neceſſity of ſeparating the territorial and commercial powers in Bengal, as much for the ſecurity of the company as for the advantage of the ſtate, has been demonſtrated to government by a ſenſible writer, whoſe ſentiments on that ſubject are thus explained.

"The company, ſays he, is itſelf [illegible] poſſeſſing neither ſupreme, legiſlative or judicial authority over its own inſtitution of fellow ſubjects; for the government of thoſe dominions: which privileges it can neither properly direct, reſtrain, controul or inſpect; and that ſuch a ſubſtitution is therefore abſolute, deſpotic, and arbitrary in the exe-

execution of its ſovereign truſt; that the company is a ſovereign in the capacity of a merchant, and accordingly acts there in that double capacity; and that thoſe who act under them are deſpots and merchants, as well for themſelves as the company: which are circumſtances that muſt prove deſtructive to a commercial country; that being a ſubject depending on the government of the country in which it reſides, for its own protection and exiſtence, it is totally devoid of that quality which conſtitutes the very end and being of government, which is protection."

He then proceeds to deſcribe the company's artificial government of Bengal, which has no other ſupport than the pretence of holding an office under the Mogul, who was in fact their priſoner and a nabob without power, who is dependent on them for his very ſubſiſtence and is forced to perpetrate the moſt unwarrantable actions, when directed to ſerve the iniquitous purpoſes of the company's ſervants.

He repreſents the real government of the country, in the hands of young European ſervants to the company, avaricious and ignorant, on thoſe proceedings the government of this country beſtows very little attention, while the natives ſubmit to theſe raw, illiterate upſtarts, with the moſt timid reſignation, and are but little under the controul of their maſters, the Eaſt India directors. But ſhould the very worſt puniſhment in their power, be inflicted on a governor or ſome wealthy member of the council, in any of the preſidencies, which is diſmiſſion from the ſervice, it is but what he was prepared for, being ready to embark with

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a princely fortune for his mother country, where he ſets the company at defiance, ſeeing that in an ordinary court of juſtice they can convict him of nothing more than an error of judgment.

With reſpect to criminal juſtice in Bengal, the governor and council were in fact the parties to proſecute, the magiſtrates to impriſon, the judges to ſentence, the ſovereigns to order execution, and ſuch deſpots, that no grand and petit jury dared venture to diſoblige them; while for deciſions reſpecting property they have the appointing of the judges, who decree without juries, and likewiſe the power of diſplacing them on any exhibited complaint made to themſelves, which they can at any time procure with facility.

So likewiſe they can cauſe what kind of juſtice they pleaſe to be executed on the unprotected natives; and ſhould any of them againſt the will of their arbitrary rulers, dare to avail themſelves of their right, to appeal to the laws of England for juſtice, they forcibly deliver them up into the hands of their creature, a mock nabob who puncteally and literally executes his orders. And thus we find this ſhadow of a nabob ſerve to exclude effectually the natives of the country from the privilege of the Engliſh laws.

With reſpect to commerce and internal trade, the whole of both in Bengal, are in effect monopolies, either in the hands of the company or their ſervants; the former from being the only merchant or commercial importer and exporter, and conſequently the excluſive buyer and ſeller from or to whom, or ſelf-preſcribed conditions, at leaſt as far as regards Britiſh commerce; and likewiſe is greatly

greatly preſcriptive in effect with reſpect to the reſt. The advantages of buyers and ſellers over each other, are the mere acquiſition of a double power of monopolizing over the property of a whole people, and therefore dangerous alike to the welfare of individuals, and the proſperity of a country; but of courſe muſt prove greatly more ſo when united with unlimited ſovereignty.

As the ſervants of the company monopolize directly or indirectly, all the branches of internal trade, the raw materials for manufactory as well as the neceſſaries of life, it is impoſſible that the provinces of Bengal ſhould flouriſh as long as the induſtrious are deprived of all freedom, and the fruits of their labour clogged with prohibitions and penalties.

Indeed many of the evils, under which Bengal has laboured for ſome years paſt, regard to the proſtitution of the public revenues, and the unpolitical regulations relative to trade and manufactory, have in a great meaſure originated in Leadenhall-Street, from the ignorance or knavery of ſome members of the direction; from the continual changes and fluctuating ſtate of that court and that of the proprietors, and for want of a permanent ſyſtem of government adequate to the altered ſtate of the company's affairs in thoſe diſtant regions. No ſtronger proof could be given of the defective conſtitution of the company, or of the incompetency of the court of directors, than the neceſſity they thought themſelves under a few years ago of having recourſe to the expedient of ſending ſupervifors to India; Mr. Vanſittart and others, who have never been heard of ſince. But after all, the

the proſperity and preſervation of the company's valuable acquiſitions, require a ſyſtem very different from all the palliatives and temporary expedients of ſhallow politics.

It muſt be confeſſed, that the opportunity which the ſituation of the company have of late years afforded for the ſudden acquiſition of wealth and power have been great and numerous, and the temptations ſuch as few men have the virtue to withſtand. Theſe rapid fortunes have ſerved to eſtabliſh a variety of intereſts, claſhing with each other, among all ranks of perſons intereſted in the ſociety, diſtinct from all proſpects of advantage from the joint trade, and even often repugnant to the intereſts of the nation. Whilſt the ſituation and government of the company remains a *ſtatu quo*, it is contrary to reaſon, the nature of the human paſſions, and indeed of all experience to expect other management or other conſequences either in England or India, whatever ſet of men will be in the direction of their affairs. The company in its preſent ſtation may be compared to a ſtupendous edifice, ſuddenly erected on a foundation not ſufficiently well examined or ſecured, inhabited by momentary proprietors and governors, divided by intereſts; and while one ſet of them is overloading the ſuperſtructure, another is undermining the foundation.

It is ridiculous to ſuppoſe, that theſe remote acquiſitions will be long kept in peaceable ſubjection, by any other ties than juſtice, humanity and convenience. Even triumphant Rome, miſtreſs of the univerſe, could not with her victorious armies, ſecure the ſubmiſſion of the diſtant pro-

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vinces, and particularly theſe of Aſia, under a rapacious and oppreſſive government. In vain; a few hundred flatter themſelves to enjoy ſecurity againſt millions, without a mild and equitable government; as the ſuppoſed difference in the natural acquired vigour of mind or body, cannot realize the illuſion of ſafety againſt ſuch odds in numbers.

After having enumerated the moſt glaring abuſes introduced by the ruling company's ſervants in Bengal, multiplied during the preſidency of lord Clive, we ſhall relate ſome particulars analagous to his lordſhip's paſſions and ſentiments, communicated to us by a perſon of credit and veracity, who was at Calcutta the laſt time the noble lord was in the zenith of his power and glory. Whatever notions of his lordſhip's benevolence and generoſity have been propagated by his friends and dependents, it ſeems as if his tender feelings had been confined to the gratification of his ſenſes, and his beneficence the effect of pride and oſtentation.

It was expected that his lordſhip's profuſion adequate to his fortune might overflow the channels of ſplendor and pageantry, and be diverted into the benign ſtreams of liberality towards the helpleſs and the indigent. Soon after the noble preſident's arrival at Calcutta, a gentleman in the civil ſervice of the company, who felt for his fellow creatures amidſt theſe opulent wretches, inſenſible to the cries of the diſtreſſed, was honoured with an invitation of the ſupreme governor. He made an honourable mention of Mr. Vanſittart, lord Clive's predeceſſor, and highly commended his munificence and benefactions; he obſerved before lord Clive, while at his table, that Mr. Vanſittart's

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benevolence abroad, was adequate to his hoſpitality at home; that he never diſtributed leſs in charitable uſes during his government than 4000 rupees per month, and that ſeveral widows and young ladies friendleſs and deſtitute had been the worthy objects of his ſpontaneous relief, till they were happily married, or otherwiſe releaſed from their troubles and difficulties. This intimation which ſhould have ſtimulated the noble governor to the ſame meritorious acts, could not even influence him to beſtow a praiſe on Mr. Vanſitart's extenſive donations. His lordſhip replied with a deliberate inſenſibility, and a ſhameleſs ſneer, that betrayed *his principles*: "What Mr. Vanſitart did in this particular ſhall be no precedent to me, as I am determined not to follow it; but were the ladies inclined to repay the favour, in beſtowing theirs, I do not know how far this motive might prevail on my ſenſation." This declaration ſhewed lord Clive in his true colours, and was followed by a contemptuous ſilence and indignation.

THE END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

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